THIS BOOK IS THE PROPERTY OF
THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF WEST HAM.

WITHDRAWN

WEST HAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES,

STRATFORD, E.15.

Open on Weekdays from 10 a.m. until 8 p.m. (except on Wednesdays, Public Holidays, and from the 1st to the 14th August).

BORROWERS' Tickets are not transferable. No book can be issued without the presentation of the Ticket.

Wrappers are necessary to protect the books from injury in their conveyance to and from the Library.

Books will not be entrusted to children under eleven years of age, and Borrowers are requested, as far as possible, to make personal application, as many accidents occur through the carelessness of messengers. This book must be returned to the **Stratford Library.**

Any damage done to Books will be charged to the *last borrower*. Borrowers should therefore examine the Books and call attention to any fault, in order that *they* may not be charged with the same. Special notice of any scribbling in the Books is desired, in order to assist in tracing the offender.

A Borrower detaining a Book beyond the time allowed for reading will be fined ONE PENNY **per Week or part of a Week** such time is exceeded, and if not returned in Four Weeks from date of issue, a Printed Notice will be sent to such Borrower, who will be required to defray expenses.

Borrowers are particularly desired to note the Dates on the Register Labels in order to return or renew the Books in time to avoid the fines, which are necessarily enforced.

Time allowed for reading this Book, FOURTEEN DAYS, including day of issue.

BOOKS NOT IN DEMAND MAY BE RENEWED.

BY ORDER.

142·068,

H1483

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holiday

METROPOLITAN SPECIAL COLLECTION

PUBLIC
Withdrawn
BOUGHTON INSTITUTE
942.068

WILLIAM THE THIRD

3060.13

BY

W. H. TORRIANO

BARRISTER-AT-LAW; M.A., TRIN. COLL., CAMBRIDGE

COPYRIGHT, AND ALL OTHER RIGHTS RESERVED

LONDON
W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13, WATERLOO PLACE
PALL MALL, S.W.

1887

3
41483
942.068

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WOODFALL AND KINDER,
MILFORD LANE, STRAND, W.C.

PREFACE.

THE reign of William the Third, constitutionally considered, is the most important in English History. It ought, of itself, to be a study in the education of youth.

The present work, more especially intended for youths, is written upon the principle of making this period of history *understood.* The Author has therefore endeavoured to develop facts and their consequences, to explain transactions and arrangements, and to exhibit the probable causes and secret motives of actions; and for those purposes to employ sufficient description without prolixity.

The student should thoughtfully compare the reign of James the Second (herein only briefly sketched) with public events and legislation in this country since 1829.

It has been considered advisable to separate the Constitutional part of William's history from the mere details of conspiracies and battles. Hence the division which is carried out in the following work.

The Author has consulted and freely used the following Histories of William :—

Boyer, 1703.
Kennett, 1706.
Walter Harris, 1749.
Rapin (Tindal) 1726–1752.
Trevor, 1835.
Macaulay, 1864.

All the main facts stated by Lord Macaulay are to be found in the preceding writings of Boyer, Harris, Rapin, and Kennett, but to Lord Macaulay we are especially indebted for the elucidation of various intrigues and transactions wholly or partially unknown to prior historians.

May, 1875.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE present crisis requires fresh consideration of 1688. It is here humbly submitted to the public. Much has quietly been effected during the last half century. What more remains to be effected? Are we, step by step, tamely to surrender, without cause and without excuse, every particle of Protestantism, until, from being *the* Nation of the World, we disappear from the muster-roll of Europe? Signs indicate the arrival in London of a Popish Nuncio or Legate. The inner man of the Protestant finds at present enough to endure in the sight of monks and nuns and priests and Jesuits, and of encroaching Romanism within and without our own church. A repetition of an Adda at St. James's might be dangerous, whatever political party be in power.

To the books already mentioned may be added :—

Burnet Hist. O. T.
Ralph Hist., 2 vols., 1744.
Dalrymple's Memoirs, 2 vols., 1773.
Chevalier's Hist. de Guillaume III., par Medailles, Amsterdam, 1692.
Princes of House of Orange, 1734.
William III., 1 vol., 1703.
Grimblot, Letters of William and Louis, 1848.

Jan. 1887.

CONTENTS.

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Preliminary History—Prince of Orange 1

CHAPTER II.

Causes of the Restitution of 1688 6

CHAPTER III.

CHOICE OF SUCCESSOR TO JAMES.

Principles for Selection of Successor to James—Fitness of Prince of Orange—Invitation to him—His Difficulties—Acceptance of Invitation—Preparations for Expedition—Alarm of James 23

CHAPTER IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Arrival of Prince of Orange in England — Advance upon London – Disturbances in London—Proceedings of James—Proceedings of Convention—Offer of Crown to William and Mary in London 29

CHAPTER V.

IRELAND.

CONTEMPORANEOUS NARRATIVE.

PAGE

State of Ireland—Tyrconnel and Fitton—James arrives—Assistance from France—Oppressive Measures—Base Coin—Confiscation and Attainder—Campaigns under Schomberg and William—Ultimately William and Mary King and Queen 48

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND.

CONTEMPORANEOUS NARRATIVE.

Convention—Proclamation of William and Mary—Offer and Acceptance of Crown—Proceedings in Scotch Parliament—War in Highlands—Establishment of Rule of William and Mary 58

CHAPTER VII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Difficulties of Various kinds—Selection of Ministers—Proceedings in Parliament—Attempt to Amalgamate Protestants—Mutiny Act—Cases of Titus Oates and Others—War with France 69

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Affairs in Scotland—Jacobite Plot—Congress at the Hague—Affairs in Flanders—War finished in Ireland 8

CHAPTER IX.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

PAGE

Return to England—East India Company—High Treason—Marlborough — Princess Anne — False Conspiracies—Return to Flanders—Battle of La Hogue—State of Confederation—Campaign in Flanders 94

CHAPTER X.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Return to England—State of things there—Parliamentary Proceedings—National Debt—Irish Parliament—Scotch Parliament—Return to Flanders 100

CHAPTER XI.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

James in France—Proposal made to him—His Declaration—Campaign in Flanders—Smyrna Fleet—Conduct of Jacobites—Return of William—Formation of a Cabinet—Proceedings in Parliament—Bank of England—Brest—Fighting in Spain—Plot—Meeting of Parliament—Death of Tillotson—Death of Mary—Death of Luxemburg 105

CHAPTER XII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

State of William—Proceedings in Parliament—Freedom of the Press—Death of Halifax—Impeachment of Leeds—Lords Justices appointed—Reconciliation with Anne—Scotch Parliament—Glencoe—War in Netherlands—Namur—Newspapers—Return to England — Progress through Counties — New Parliament—Currency—Plot—National Excitement—Orange Association—Prorogation 117

CHAPTER XIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

PAGE

Campaign in Flanders—Distress of the Armies—Schemes for Raising Money—Assistance from the Bank of England—Recoinage completed—Sir John Fenwick's Case—Parliamentary Proceedings—Alsatia—Ireland and Scotland tranquil—Negotiation for Peace—Treaty of Ryswick—Royal Grants attacked—East India Companies—The Czar Peter 127

CHAPTER XIV.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Portland Ambassador to France—Discontented with what he saw—Conference respecting Spain—Tallard French Ambassador—William goes to Holland followed by Tallard and others—Lords Justices—Marlborough one . . 138

CHAPTER XV.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

William at Loo—Negotiations as to Spain continued—First Partition Treaty—Reduction of Army—Death of Elector of Bavaria—Second Treaty—Anger of Spain—Isthmus of Darien Scheme—Kidd's Piracies 145

CHAPTER XVI.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Meeting of Parliament—Attack on Burnet and Somers—Irish forfeitures—Commissioners' Reports—Resumption Bill 154

CHAPTER XVII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

PAGE

Death of King of Spain—Second Partition Treaty—Conduct of France—Warlike appearances 163

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Death of James—Proclamation of his Son by Louis—Consequences thereof—Death of William—His Character . 175

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRINCIPAL BATTLES AND SIEGES BEFORE 1688 . . 184

CHAPTER XX.

PRINCIPAL BATTLES AND SIEGES AFTER THE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND IN 1688.

On the Continent between 1689 and 1692 195

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGNS IN IRELAND 207

CHAPTER XXII.

SCHOMBERG'S CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND 216

CHAPTER XXIII.

PAGE
William's Campaign in Ireland 219

CHAPTER XXIV.

SEA FIGHTS.

Bantry Bay 233
Beachy Head 234
La Hogue 235
Brest 236

PART THE THIRD.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Principal Plots and Conspiracies . . . 239

CHAPTER XXVI.

Glencoe 252

APPENDIX 277

WILLIAM THE THIRD.

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY HISTORY.—PRINCE OF ORANGE.

WILLIAM THE THIRD, or William Henry, Prince of Orange, and afterwards King of England, was descended from the ancient Family or House of Nassau. Whether the word Nassau belonged to the Family and thence their Territory derived its name, or belonged to the Territory and thence the Family derived its name is uncertain. Some suppose that the Family was descended and the name derived from Nasua, a Prince of the Suevi, a nation of ancient Gaul, mentioned by Cæsar in his Commentaries. If so, *Nasua* may have easily passed into *Nassau*, and become first the name of the Family and afterwards of the Territory. As to the locality, Nassau was a County or Province of Germany. The title *Prince of Orange* was derived from the City and Principality of Orange, situate in Provence in France, which came into the Nassau Family as hereinafter mentioned. The Family of Nassau (like the Coburg family of the present time), was divided into several branches, each distinguished by some particular adjunct, as Nassau-Dillenburg, Nassau-Dietz, &c. The Family had large possessions in the Netherlands, in Germany, and in Burgundy. It gave an Emperor to Germany in the person of Adolphus, Count of Nassau, and a King to England in the person of William the Third. It would be tedious and useless to trace every step in the pedigree. Suffice it to say that between the year A.D. 926 and A.D. 1494 there were fourteen descents,

all Counts of Nassau. Let us confine ourselves to the Branch of William the Third from 1494. This is his direct line of descent :—John the Third Count of Nassau-Dillenburg, had two sons, Henry and William. After his death his son Henry received the family possessions in the Netherlands, and his son William received the family possessions in Germany.

Henry married Claude de Chalons, only sister of Philip (or Philibert) de Chalons, Prince of Orange. By her he had one son, named Renatus or René.

Philibert de Chalons died without issue, and by will left the Principality of Orange to his nephew Renatus. Thus the title of Prince of Orange came into the Nassau family. Renatus, Count of Nassau and Prince of Orange, died without issue, and by will left the Principality of Orange to his cousin and heir William the First, sometimes called William the Great, and sometimes William the Silent. Thus William the First became Count of Nassau by inheritance, and Prince of Orange by devise.

William the First, in consequence of the cruelties of Philip the Second, King of Spain, in the Netherlands, took arms against him, and founded the Republic of the Seven United Provinces according to the arrangement called the Union of Utrecht, 22nd January, 1579. William the First was murdered on 8th July, 1584, and was succeeded by his son Maurice, who never married, and died in 1625.

Maurice still further established the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. He left several illegitimate children, of whom it is only necessary to name Henry de Nassau, Lord of Auverquerque, afterwards Master of the Horse to William the Third in England.

Maurice was succeeded by his half-brother, Henry Frederic (another son of William the First) as Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland.

Henry Frederic completed the Power of the United Provinces, and the Spaniards renounced all claims. He died 14th March, 1647.

William the Second, his only son, succeeded Henry Frederic, and became Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland. William the Second married Mary, eldest daughter of Charles the First, King of England, by whom he had one son, William Henry, and died 27th October, 1650. William Henry (generally called William the Third), his son,

succeeded him as Count of Nassau and Prince of Orange, and afterwards became Stadtholder of Holland and King of England. Observe, therefore, that our King William the Third was great-grandson of William the First, Count of Nassau and Prince of Orange, and grandson of Charles the First, King of England.

And now a few lines descriptive of the Country whence our William came, and of his difficulties and conduct before he arrived in England.

The country, formerly called in general terms the Netherlands, or the Lowlands, or sometimes Flanders, threw off (as before stated), the sovereignty of Spain; and William the First, Count of Nassau, established the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. These were Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezland, Overyssel, and Groningen. These Provinces were afterwards, as a whole, called Holland; taking their combined name from Holland, the principal of the Seven Provinces. The Governor or principal Ruler of Holland was called Stadtholder, and the Prime Minister, Pensionary.

Observe, that before the time of William the First of Nassau, there were seventeen Provinces, called unitedly the Netherlands. Of these the seven Northern or Protestant Provinces became Holland; the remaining ten, Catholic or Belgian Provinces (now Belgium), became the property of Austria—which explains the reason of Austria joining our William the Third and others in the general confederacy against France for the protection of the Netherlands. All these seventeen Provinces (Holland and Belgium) were afterwards conquered by the French in the time of Napoleon the First; but by the Treaty of Paris in 1815, they were erected into one kingdom, called "the Kingdom of the Netherlands," and were placed under a Protestant Sovereign of the House of Orange-Nassau. Some years afterwards there was a Revolution, and this Kingdom was divided into two Kingdoms, namely Holland (Protestant) and Belgium (Roman Catholic), and this division still remains.

Now a few words respecting the more immediate history of our William the Third before he came to England.

William the Second was made Stadtholder and Captain-General of the United Provinces, and died on the 27th October, 1650. Eight days afterwards, on the 4th Novem-

ber, 1650, his son, our William the Third, was born. As soon as he was competent to act he found himself in great difficulties. His own pecuniary affairs were in confusion, and he had to pay heavy annuities to his mother and grandmother, and also interest upon a large sum borrowed by his father to lend to Charles the Second of England, when in exile. As to public affairs, his father had quarrelled with and attacked Antwerp, whereby great animosity was created in that city against him and his successor. There was also a favourable feeling towards France. Moreover there was in Holland a strong party against William the Third, headed by the Pensionary De Witt, and encouraged by Oliver Cromwell from his animosity to the Stuart family. De Witt and Cromwell combined to exclude William the Third from the rank and office of Stadtholder. It was resolved, mainly through their influence, that William and his descendants should never be Stadtholders; the title was even abolished, and every Admiral-General or Captain-General was required, upon his appointment, to take an oath to renounce the title. At the same time the King of France seized the Principality of Orange and demolished the Citadel built there by Maurice.

However, circumstances soon compelled an entire change. William the Third was first chosen Chief Nobleman of Zealand, next was appointed Supreme Commander of the Navy and Army, and soon afterwards (France having declared war and overrun Holland) the Law abolishing the title of Stadtholder was disregarded, and William the Third was made Stadtholder, with power to declare war and peace, the title to be hereditary in his family. Thus this particular difficulty was removed.

From this time until his arrival in England in 1688 (a period of seventeen years), he was engaged in perpetual opposition and war against Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, whose scheme was to reduce Europe to one universal French Empire, and to exterminate Protestantism. In fact, not the least glorious part of his life was that before he came to England; and it must not be forgotten that he was one of the illustrious family who gave freedom to Holland. William the Third, to save Holland and the rest of the Continent, formed various European Princes and States, some Protestant and some Roman Catholic, into a Confederation against a common enemy and for a common

purpose—resistance to France. Hence he obtained the character of "the scourge of France, the stay and support of Germany, the protector of Spain, and the defender of the United Provinces." He was the champion of Civil and Religious liberty. We shall hear more respecting the Confederation hereafter.

Notwithstanding all his energy, William always had a feeble constitution, and suffered much bodily pain. Mind and courage overcame these impediments to a great extent. War and hunting were his most congenial occupations. Naturally he possessed deep and intense feelings and sensibilities known only to those who knew him well, but entirely concealed from the public by a cold, forbidding, and disagreeable manner. From boyhood he was immersed prematurely in public affairs, civil and military, whence he early acquired or increased habits of thought, silence, caution, and reserve; and after his accession to the English throne circumstances were not likely to diminish these habits, as will be seen hereafter. At the age of twenty-three he commanded combined armies against the most able and experienced French Generals. Sir William Temple, English Ambassador at the Hague, in the year 1669 (the Prince being then eighteen), thus quaintly describes him—"He is a young man of more parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in the kind of wit which is neither of use to oneself or anybody else, but in good plain sense if he has business which deserves it; and this with extreme good and agreeable humour and disposition without any vice—he is in bed always at ten o'clock, loves hunting as much as he hates swearing, and prefers cock-ale before any wine." And in 1674 the great French General Condé, his enemy, after the battle of Senéff, declared that "the Prince had acted like an old Captain in the action, except only in venturing himself too much." In 1677 (being twenty-seven years old) William came to England, and on 4th November married Mary, elder daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second. From this time William became still more the Head of the Protestant interest in Europe, and still more formidable to France. Let us now see what brought him to England in 1688.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF THE RESTITUTION OF 1688.

In the seventeenth century the frame of the English System and Constitution, ecclsiastical and civil, was essentially and exclusively Protestant. The Nation had learned its lesson from experience—was resolved to hold its own—and considered every portion of the national structure indispensable to the whole national security and integrity. Be it moreover remembered that Protestantism was not then a languid sentiment, treating all religions upon equality and talking of English, Romish, and Greek Churches as "Sister Churches;" but was a vital, energetic, discriminating principle, which regarded one system, civil and religious, as paramount and true, and to be preserved from all danger.

The Test and Corporation Acts practically kept from power and rule Roman Catholics and Dissenters; and Dissenters in those times would prefer self-exclusion to the risk of Romanist admission; and easily penetrated the thin disguise of pretended indulgence for nonconformists. Nor did they, under vague professions of liberality and freedom from bigotry, admit the delusion that Romanism was practically altered and would never again interfere. Also all honest and intelligent Englishmen must have felt disgraced and endangered by the corruption of our Kings through French gold—our Kings the mere puppets of a French King, who at his pleasure could have Parliament dissolved or called, peace made or war declared, and would soon make England, practically if not actually, a province of France. We now know to what an extent the bribery was carried in the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, but even in their days enough must have oozed out to justify the public suspicion.

The medium of communication was the French ambassador, whose letters and dispatches reveal the whole intrigues. The general feeling was also strongly opposed to a profes-

sional standing army, especially to a standing Romanized army, and to the royal prerogative overruling law and statute, in short to the dispensing power.

Nor was there, during the reign of Charles the Second nor after his death, any concealment of the national feeling of England or of Scotland, or of the Princesses Anne and Mary, or of the Prince of Orange and of other influential persons.

The letter of James himself to his son-in-law shows that he also was alarmed. He thus says :—" The Bill for depriving me of the succession has had one reading ; so that except his Majesty begins to behave himself as a king ought to do, not only I, but himself and our whole family are gone."

From the time when James, then Duke of York, joined the Church of Rome, Parliament clearly manifested their repugnance to his ever mounting the throne. Bills were brought into the House of Commons to that effect. Among other attacks, the House of Commons, in April, 1679, unanimously voted " that the Duke of York, by coming as a Papist to the Crown, had given encouragement to the designs and conspiracies against the King and the Protestant Religion."

Again in May, 1679, there was brought in and read in the House of Commons a Bill "to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Imperial Crown" ; and the Bill enacted that upon the death of Charles the Crown should devolve to the person next in succession as if the Duke were dead. In short, Charles the Second to save his brother and to save himself from a painful position, twice dissolved Parliament and sent his brother to the Continent and to Scotland.

After various attempts to mitigate the opposition of Parliament, Charles expressed to them his willingness to provide against the case of a Popish successor ; until at length, in March, 1681, the House of Commons considered the question of Expedients, but rejected them all—even though one of them proposed the residence of James five hundred miles from England.

Again as to Scotland ; upon Charles's death, the Duke of Queensberry came to Court and informed James that if any danger was intended to the established religion he would render no assistance—upon which James replied that he intended none.

The correspondence between James and his two daughters and son-in-law clearly showed how decidedly they were all three opposed to his doings, and to all illegal royal acts, and to all alterations without Parliamentary action of the Test and Corporation Acts, although the Prince expressed repugnance to personal persecution.

Thus at the accession of James the Second there were three points upon which the English Nation would naturally be jealous and sensitive—The Protestant Constitution, National Liberty, and French Influence. Upon all these points James soon confirmed the suspicions that had arisen in the preceding reign. In three years he proved that, if he continued king, the Religious Reformation would be superseded, arbitrary and lawless regal rule established, and corrupt and servile subjection to France completed. His short reign was a series of wilful and suicidal blunders. In the autumn of 1685 he was at the height of his power. Argyle and Monmouth had perished, the Whigs were depressed, the Parliament not unfavourable, the Clergy advocating passive obedience, and the Judges subservient. And, although there were some inclined for religious guarantees, none were required. Let us now see how James dealt with his position and his prospects.

At once he needlessly and ostentatiously announced the conversion of his deceased brother; and himself, as king, publicly attended Mass, whereby he destroyed a favourable impression at first produced by some words addressed to the Privy Council, favourable to the Church.

James commenced his reign in the year 1685. In the very first week he issued two proclamations for levying without parliamentary authority Custom and Excise duties. Then in violation of known law sent Caryl with messages to the Pope.

Soon after the battle of Sedgmoor he concluded with the States General a defensive treaty. This step indicated independence of France, but was shortly recalled and French gold again poured in. The cruelties and executions of Jeffreys and of Kirke by his conduct naturally and not unjustly produced the belief that he approved them. He next set to work to repeal the Habeas Corpus Act, and to form a large standing army (two advances towards unchecked power), and to establish his own religion (the Romish) as supreme. He then disregarded the Test Act and issued a

Declaration of religious indulgence. He granted military commissions and civil offices to persons legally disqualified as Papists. He was opposed, not only generally, but even by some of his own Ministers. He dismissed Halifax, Lord President of the Council. The Earl of Danby, and a section of the Tories (though inclined to support the King as far as possible), and the Bishops (though otherwise submissive), and the Chiefs of the Army (amongst them Lord Churchill and Colonel Kirke) all expressed disapprobation of his proceedings. At this crisis Louis the Fourteenth, whose gold James was then receiving, revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had ensured protection to French Protestants, and exercised the most odious cruelties towards them: whereby he unintentionally strengthened the European Confederation (before mentioned) against him, and excited the greatest indignation in England and in Holland.

On the ninth of November, 1685, Parliament met. James in his opening speech stated that little dependence could be placed on the Militia; that therefore he had increased the regular army, the charge for which would henceforth be doubled; that he had employed some officers who had not taken the tests, but whom he knew to be trustworthy; that he was determined not to part with servants on whom he could rely and whose help he might perhaps soon require. On the twelfth of November, the House of Commons voted that a supply should be granted for the army, but that the Militia should be rendered more efficient. Next the Commons considered the King's words respecting Tests, and voted an Address to the effect that he could not legally employ officers who refused to qualify. They voted seven thousand pounds for the army, being only half what James wanted. The Commons presented this Address, and were told by the King that he was amazed and displeased. On the nineteenth of November both Houses again met. In the Lords the Earl of Devonshire moved that a day should be fixed for considering the King's speech. Compton, Bishop of London, supported Devonshire, and expressed for himself and the other Prelates an opinion that the whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution was in danger. James himself was present. The House fixed an early day for considering the Royal Speech. The next day the King personally prorogued Parliament until the tenth of February; and dismissed from such offices as they held all

members of the House of Commons who had opposed him, and Compton from the Deanery of the Royal Chapel and from the Privy Council. At this time the Duke of Ormond and the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester (the King's brothers-in-law), and all his best friends, and even the Earl of Middleton and Lord Preston advised moderation and the re-assembling of Parliament. Only such Papists as Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, husband of the notorious Duchess of Cleveland, and Henry Jermyn, created Lord Dover (one of Lady Castlemaine's numerous lovers), and the Marquis of Albeville and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tirconaill (of whom more hereafter), urged hasty and arbitrary measures. On the cautious side also were the representatives of the States General; also of Spain, of Austria, and of the Pope, who all knew that the Romish cause would gain more by prudence than by precipitation. On the violent side were the representatives of Louis, Barillon and Bonrepaux (who were playing their master's game), and the Jesuits who were playing their own game and siding with Louis when they thought fit. The leading Jesuit at Whitehall was Edward Petre, an Englishman, Vice-Provincial, and illegally made Clerk of the Closet and Privy Councillor. The Earl of Sunderland (though he still called himself a Protestant) acted with Barillon, receiving through him five thousand pounds yearly from Louis. He was appointed Lord President in the place of the Marquis of Halifax, but remained also Secretary of State. He soon professed himself a Papist and a convert of James himself. Lord Godolphin tried to remain neutral. The Queen joined the Jesuits. James now informed the representatives of Spain and Holland that he abandoned the before-mentioned Treaty; henceforth he became the vassal and slave of France. He received a present of five hundred thousand livres from Louis.

On the 11th of February, 1686, Parliament was by the influence of Louis, acting through Sunderland, prorogued until May, and soon afterwards Lord Castlemaine was sent as ambassador to the Pope. And now James, to please Louis, altered his behaviour towards the exiled Huguenots, many of whom had settled in England. A collection in the churches for their relief (forty thousand pounds) was neutralized by an order from James that all participators

should previously take the sacrament in the church of England.

Parliament was still further prorogued until November, James intending to assume and exercise the two prerogatives of the dispensing power as to the Laws, and Ecclesiastical Supremacy as to the Church, and wishing not to be impeded. But he found that he could not by his own independent act at once free the whole Romish body from all penal statutes—*that* had been declared illegal 1672—but perhaps he might begin by granting dispensation to individuals on peculiar grounds. He therefore privately sounded the Judges. Four would not support him : they were dismissed, and four compliant successors appointed. The Bench being thus prepared, Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, who had been appointed Colonel of a regiment without taking the Sacrament, whereby he was liable to a fine, was tried. His defence was, the grant of Royal Letters Patent authorizing him to hold his Commission notwithstanding the Test Act. The Chief Justice Herbert gave judgment that in the opinion of eleven out of twelve of the Judges the King might lawfully dispense with penal Statutes in particular cases and for special reasons. Within one month James appointed Lords Powis, Bellasyse, Arundel, and Dover, all Romanists, Privy Councillors. Next he empowered Incumbents to retain Church of England livings and emoluments, although they had apostatized to Rome ; and appointed John Massey, a Papist, Dean of Christchurch, Oxford. In the month of July, 1686, James established a Court of High Commission, consisting of seven Commissioners or Judges, of whom Lord Chancellor Jeffreys was chief, with extraordinary powers for visiting and governing the Church. This was disapproved by all those of his Ministers who had not sold themselves to Louis or to the Jesuits, also by all Lawyers and by all Churchmen. First was summoned before this tribunal Compton, Bishop of London, for not suspending, pursuant to the King's order, John Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's, who had preached against the Romish Church, contrary to the King's direction that the Clergy should not preach on controversial subjects. Compton was suspended from spiritual duties and powers, but left in his palace and revenue.

The anger of Englishmen was gradually boiling up. They knew that Romish worship and Clergy and dresses and

Jesuits were under the condemnation of law; nevertheless they daily saw Romish Churches built, Monks and Friars exhibiting their costumes, Monasteries and Nunneries and Jesuit houses erected and Benedictines in St. James's Palace. In several towns, and even in London, riots occurred, but James would not yield. He resolved, if necessary, even to use force; and formed a camp on Hounslow Heath, containing infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Amongst the soldiers was circulated a Tract entitled "A humble and hearty address to all English Protestants in the Army;" for publishing which the author, Samuel Johnson, a Church of England clergyman, was tried and convicted and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and to be scourged from Newgate to Tyburn. The sentence was carried out. The clergy, notwithstanding the King's order to the contrary, now everywhere preached and wrote against Popish errors and pretensions. To all these aggravating circumstances add the universal horror occasioned by the judicial and military cruelties, and by the illegal sentences and executions and enormous rapacity of Judge Jeffreys after Monmouth's rebellion, which were believed to be approved by the King.

Nor was the growing discontent confined to England; it existed also in Scotland. There the Episcopalian Church (a small body though by law established) was abhorred by the Presbyterian majority. There were also many Roman Catholics, especially amongst the Highlanders. One law prohibited hearing Mass, the third offence being death; another law prohibited, on pain of death, preaching in any Presbyterian Conventicle or attending any such Conventicle in the open air. In the Scotch Privy Council there were two parties—William Douglas, Earl of Queensberry, Lord Treasurer, refused to attack the established Episcopalian Church; James Drummond, Earl of Perth, Chancellor, and John, Lord Melfort, Secretary of State, and Alexander Stuart, Earl of Murray (all apostates to Rome) were ready to destroy it. James sent to Queensberry Royal Letters authorising Papists to take office without any test; he also desired the Protestant Clergy not to preach against the Romish religion. Quantities of images, beads, crosses, and censers (the importation of which was illegal) were now sent to Lord Perth, and a Popish Chapel was fitted up in his house, which produced a popular riot. James sent

orders to the Scotch Privy Council to punish the rioters, and not to spare the torture. He put the office of Treasurer in Commission, Queensberry being First Commissioner and President of the Privy Council. The Duke of Gordon, a Papist, was made Governor of Edinburgh Castle instead of Queensberry. James next sent a letter to the Scotch Privy Council exempting Romanists from all penal laws, but leaving Covenanters still subject thereto. This was opposed, whereupon James ordered three members of the Council, namely the Duke of Hamilton, Sir James Lockhart, and General Drummond, to appear before him at Whitehall. They obeyed his order, but were not found docile. They would grant considerable relief to Roman Catholics on two conditions—first, that the same amount was granted to Presbyterians, and secondly, that the King would do nothing to prejudice the Protestant religion. James agreed that some indulgence should be given to Presbyterians, but not so much as to Romanists—the second condition be peremptorily refused. James next removed Queensberry from being Lord High Commissioner (who in Parliament represented the King), and appointed the Earl of Murray, a Romanist, in his stead.

Again as to Scotland. James had been early warned, as we have seen, with respect to Scotch feeling. James said that he had no intention of changing the national religion, but that he would call a Parliament and therein have the revenue settled and other needful acts passed. Accordingly, in the Parliament held in Scotland immediately after Argyle's execution in 1685, Queensberry having satisfied the Estates respecting James's religion, they passed a Test Act, and made an immediate grant of the royal revenue for life.

On the twenty-ninth of April, 1687, the Parliament met in Edinburgh. A letter from the King exhorted the Estates to relieve his Roman Catholic subjects, and offered in return free trade with England and amnesty for political offences. Parliament returned an answer which, though respectful in tone, virtually refused the King's proposal. Afterwards the Lords of Articles (the officers for drawing up Acts of Parliament), prepared an Act permitting Romanists to worship in private houses without penalty; but it was not certain that Parliament would grant even this modified relief. At last James, being unable to carry his measures,

adjourned the Scotch Parliament. He then on his own authority admitted numerous Papists to offices and dignities in Scotland; ejected the Bishop of Dunkeld and appointed his successor; deprived Queensberry of all his employments; prohibited all elections of magistrates and town councillors, and appointed these officers himself. He also announced his intention to fit up a Romish Chapel in Holyrood palace; and ordered the Judges to treat all laws against Papists as null and void.

Let us now see how James dealt with Ireland. Strange as it may appear, the inconveniences and penalties attending the Romish religion were then in Ireland comparatively trifling. The Romish priest was not punished for proselytising; all professions might be followed by Romanists; there was no test or declaration excluding from office. The main cause of hostility was the division of the nation into two classes—Celts and Saxons, natives and settlers, Irishers and Englishers, rulers and ruled, the Celts hating the Saxons with peculiar intensity. No doubt few Roman Catholics had in fact been returned to the Irish Parliament; and the chief power had before the reign of James the Second been possessed by the Colonists or Saxons; and there was a strong antagonistic feeling between Roman Catholics and Protestants as religionists, which produced a massacre in 1641; but the real quarrel was a class quarrel between Irishers and Englishers. Ireland must therefore be dealt with differently from England. James resolved to change at once the whole social system; to re-assume and re-map the land, as well as establish the supremacy of Popery. He recalled the Protestant Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond; and sent over Lord Clarendon (English and Protestant) as Lord Lieutenant, and Tyrconnel (Irish and Romanist, of whom more hereafter) as Commander of the Army. He ordered the people to be disarmed. This order Tyrconnel executed strictly against the English, but not against the Irish. Clarendon soon discovered that he had no influence with James, and no power in Dublin; and he was informed by Sunderland that the civil and military government of Ireland would be completely altered. Several Romanists were sworn of the Irish Privy Council, and Corporations were ordered to admit Romanists. Many Protestant military officers, meritorious and able men, were dismissed, and Romanists greatly inferior substituted. Tyrconnel and the

Romish Bishops and Priests recruited, armed, and drilled the Irishers. Tyrconnel in fact weeded out of the army the Protestant element, and replaced it by the Romish. Next James, by the influence of Sunderland, Tyrconnel, and the Jesuit Petre, dismissed the English Lord Treasurer Rochester, because (though generally submissive) he would not apostatise to Rome; and in February, 1687, recalled Clarendon from Ireland, and appointed Lord Arundel Lord Privy Seal; Lord Bellasyse, First Lord of the Treasury; and Lord Dover one of the Lords of the Treasury.

Next, under pretence of toleration for Dissenters, James endeavoured, under another form, to remove obstacles from Romanists. He announced an Indulgence. He began in Scotland by issuing on the twelfth of February, 1687, in Edinburgh, a Proclamation granting relief to scrupulous consciences. Hereby he professed to relieve the Presbyterians, but the relief of them amounted to nothing; to the Romanists it was complete. They were allowed to build chapels, to carry the host in procession, and to say mass.

On the eighteenth of March, 1687, he announced to the English Privy Council his intention to prorogue Parliament, and to grant upon his own authority entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Accordingly on the fourth of April he published his Indulgence, declaring his desire to see all his subjects become members of the Church of Rome, and his resolution (since that was impracticable) to protect them in the free exercise of their religion; also promising to protect the Established Church: then he annulled a number of Acts of Parliament, suspended all penal laws against Nonconformists, authorised Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to perform worship publicly, and abrogated all Acts of Parliament imposing any religious test for civil or military offices. This declaration was then notoriously illegal and unconstitutional.

James now issued a second and third declaration for Scotland, and courted the Dissenters in England, but with small encouragement. At this period James received an important warning—the joint opinion of the Prince and Princess of Orange, to the effect that they deeply regretted his course, that he had usurped prerogatives not belonging to him, that they advised him in all respects to conform to the existing laws, that they would rejoice to see Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters relieved from penal

statutes, but it must be done in a proper way; that they feared evil consequences if Roman Catholics were rendered capable of public trust. The Princess Anne, James's other daughter, expressed the same opinion. Nevertheless, James persevered, and placed Romanists in all departments and offices, high and low, civil and military. He even required that the six English regiments in the service of Holland should be commanded by Roman Catholic officers, which the Prince of Orange refused. Thereupon James, having first arranged with Louis that he would give two thousand pounds for their support in England, required Holland to send back these regiments to England; which also the Prince under the circumstances refused.

About this time the Earl of Castlemaine, James's Ambassador to Rome returned, having been treated with great indifference and discourtesy by the Pope. On the contrary, Adda, the Pope's Nuncio in England, had received and was receiving the most fulsome and ostentatious attention from James. He had been by the Pope created Archbishop of Amasia, and the ceremony of consecration was at James's request performed at St. James's Palace. In the evening Adda,* robed as an Archbishop, attended the Queen's Drawing Room, and James fell on his knees and implored his blessing. Again on the third of July, 1687, the Nuncio was received in grand state at Windsor, and the Duke of Somerset, Lord of the Bedchamber and Colonel in the Army, was instantly deprived of both appointments for refusing to assist at the ceremony. Kennett says, "the surprise of the people at the pomp and magnificence of this solemnity was much less than their indignation, to behold a representative of the Pope in all his *pontificalibus*, preceded by a cross-bearer and attended by a flock of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders."

On the fourth of July Parliament was dissolved. James now resolved to try and to hang military deserters by common law. The Judges required tutoring: even Herbert, Chief Justice (though complaisant about the dispensing power) would not consent to this breach of law. Sir John Holt, Recorder of London, was too good to be even questioned. Both were dismissed, and were replaced by Sir Robert Wright in the King's Bench and Sir Robert Bartholomew Shower at the Old Bailey. Richard Allibone, a Papist and

* Ferdinand Count Adda.

grossly ignorant, was appointed a Puisne Judge of the King's Bench. The Court being thus duly prepared, several soldiers were tried for desertion, condemned to death, and hanged.

Next James attacked the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. The Court of High Commission (before mentioned) was employed for this work. No person could be admitted to any Degree in either University without taking the Oath of Supremacy and the Oath of Obedience. Nevertheless a Royal Letter in February, 1687, ordered that Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, should be admitted Master of Arts at Cambridge. The University resisted. The Vice-Chancellor and Senate were summoned and appeared before the High Commission at Westminster on the twenty-first of April. The Vice-Chancellor, Doctor John Pechell, was deprived of office and emoluments.

As to Oxford, Obadiah Walker, who had turned Papist, was appointed by James Master of University College. James next attacked Magdalene College. By its Statutes the President must be elected by the Fellows, and must be an existing or past Fellow either of Magdalene or of New College. In March, 1687, the President died. The King sent a Royal Letter by Robert Charnock, a Fellow, then lately turned Papist (of whom more hereafter), commanding the election as President of Anthony Farmer, a Papist, never a Fellow of either of the specified Colleges, and notoriously bad and vicious. The Fellows on the fifteenth of April, elected John Hough, and in June were summoned before the High Commission at Whitehall. Five attended; Dr. Fairfax, a Fellow, was spokesman. Farmer's character was found so infamous that he could not be forced upon the College; nevertheless the Court declared Hough's election void, and suspended Fairfax from his Fellowship. In August James sent another Royal Letter, naming Parker, Bishop of Oxford, never a Fellow of either of the specified Colleges, as President. The Fellows rejected him. Afterwards Special Commissioners were sent to Oxford as Visitors of Magdalene College. They installed Parker by proxy, and broke open the President's apartments occupied by Hough. They then required all the Fellows, except Charnock and Smith, to acknowledge the Commission and its proceedings legal, and beg pardon at the King's feet; they refused—and were expelled from their Fellowships, and declared incapable of

ever holding any ecclesiastical preferment or of taking Holy Orders, if not yet ordained. Soon afterwards Dr. Parker died, and James appointed Bonaventura Giffard, President, and the College was turned into a Popish Establishment.

Such proceedings naturally produced intense disgust in the Clergy; but they also produced alarm amongst the Jesuits. For the Jesuits saw the general commotion, and feared that if James were deposed, his successor might enforce the law against themselves. They therefore would, in conjunction with Louis, support the Princess Anne as successor to James, to the exclusion of her sister Mary, if Anne would become a Roman Catholic—but she was found firm to her religion. They then looked for some Romish successor, setting aside both Mary and Anne. But there was also another scheme, in which James himself participated. By his direction, Tyrconnel proposed to Louis, through Bonrepaux, to separate Ireland from England and unite it to France, in case England should have a Protestant King. But about this time, and in October, 1687, there was a remarkable change in the situation of affairs. The Queen, it was said, would shortly become a mother, and of course the child might be a son. There was a general and (considering the critical period at which the announcement was made, and the confidence with which the Jesuits declared that the child would be a male) a very natural suspicion that a trick was going to be played, and that a supposititious boy would be introduced into the line of Royal Succession, so as to exclude Mary and Anne. Subsequent circumstances strengthened this suspicion. Probably, however, the birth was real. There was enough without it.

James now resolved to summon Parliament, but unless the Constituency was materially altered he would meet an unmanageable House of Commons. He therefore announced in the Gazette a revision of the Commissions of Peace and Lieutenancy; and appointed a Committee of Seven Privy Councillors to sit at Whitehall, called the Board of Regulators, who were to regulate the Municipal Corporations. In this Committee was Jeffreys, who called himself a Protestant, and Powis, a Romanist, and five Jesuits, one of them being Father Petre—these six legally incapable to hold office. There were various subordinate Committees. James ordered the Lord Lieutenants to assist in working out his scheme, but they were disobedient, and half of them

were dismissed from office. The Boroughs were required to surrender their Charters, and refused. In short the scheme for making a favourable Parliament completely failed both in the Counties and in the Towns. James then gave to public officers—including Commissioners of Custom and Excise—the option of voting for him, and discharged all who opposed him.

On the twenty-seventh of April, 1688, James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence for England. Therein he recited the former declaration, and his resolution to carry it out, and to hold a Parliament in November, and requested his subjects to elect representatives who would support him. On the fourth of May, by an order in Council, he directed his Declaration of the twenty-seventh of April to be publicly read during divine service in all Churches and Chapels, by the officiating Ministers, on two successive Sundays—namely, on the twentieth and twenty-seventh of May in London, and on the third and tenth of June in the country; and desired the Bishops to circulate this Declaration through their dioceses.

Hitherto the Bishops and Clergy had held the doctrine of passive obedience to the sovereign, however bad in character or in his measures—now they were placed by the King himself in a dilemma. Here was a violation of existing law, and an intentional injury to their Church, if not a plan for the substitution of another. The Nonconformists, whom James pretended to serve, coincided with and supported the Church. A decided course must be taken. The London Clergy met and resolved not to read the Declaration. On the twelfth of May at Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Prelates assembled. They resolved that the Declaration ought not to be read. On Friday, the eighteenth of May, a second meeting of the Prelates and eminent divines was held at Lambeth Palace. A petition to the King was drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his own handwriting, disclaiming all disloyalty and all intolerance, expressing fidelity to the throne and willingness in Parliament and Convocation to regard the conscientious scruples of Dissenters—but stating that Parliament had decided that the King could not dispense with Statutes in matters ecclesiastical—that the Declaration was therefore illegal—and could not be solemnly published by the petitioners in the House of God and during divine service.

This paper was signed by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol. It was approved by Compton, Bishop of London, but not signed, because he was under suspension. The Archbishop had long been forbidden to appear at Court, therefore could not present it. On Friday evening the six Bishops who had signed were introduced by Sunderland to the King, who read the document and pronounced it libellous, and the Bishops retired.

On Sunday, the twentieth of May, the first day appointed, the Declaration was read in London only in four Churches out of one hundred. The Dissenters and Church Laymen sided with the Clergy. On the following Sunday the Declaration was treated in the same manner in London, and on Sunday, the third of June, was disregarded by Bishops and Clergy in all parts of England. James, by the advice of Jeffreys, ordered the Archbishop and Bishops to be indicted for a seditious libel. They were on the eighth of June conveyed to the Tower amidst the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and affection from all classes. The same night the Queen was said to have given birth to a son; but the national opinion was that some trick had been played. On the twenty-ninth of June the trial of the seven Bishops came on before the Court of King's Bench. The four Judges were, Chief Justice Wright (a tool of the King), Allibone (a Papist, and therefore incapacitated), Holloway (hitherto a tool of the King), and Powell. The Information charged the Bishops with having written and published in the County of Middlesex a false, malicious, and seditious libel. There was some difficulty in proving the writing and publication; but, that being overcome, the question of libel went to the Jury, who after remaining together all night (one being stubborn) pronounced a verdict of not guilty on the morning of the 30th June, 1688. The question whether the King could dispense with laws necessarily arose during the trial. Wright declined to give any opinion thereon, considering that subjects had the right of petitioning the King, but that this particular petition was a libel. Allibone agreed to this. Holloway evaded the dispensing power, but thought the petition not libellous. Powell pronounced the Declaration of Indulgence a nullity, and the dispensing power illegal. The news of the acquittal was received with an

outburst of exultation from one end of the Metropolis to the other. Throughout England all men, except a few papists, rejoiced in the result, and felt that a political change was now unavoidable. In the evening of the same 30th June the final step was taken for inviting the Prince of Orange (of which more hereafter).

OBSERVE.—James having failed with the Established Church, afterwards, under the appearance of toleration, courted the four bodies of Dissenters; but their sagacity and their loyalty to their religion detected the disguises and defeated the object. They needed no teaching that in fact Popery was to be re-introduced, and that when re-introduced it would not only discard, but also persecute Nonconformity.

Notwithstanding all these occurrences James persevered. He issued an order for all Chancellors and Archdeacons to report to the High Commission the names of all Clergymen who had not read the Declaration, but this order was disregarded. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, a member of the High Commission, resigned. James conferred a Baronetcy on Williams, his unprincipled Solicitor-General, and dismissed the two Judges, Holloway and Powell.

The Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, now died. The University, fearing the King's interference, immediately elected the Duke's grandson: two hours afterwards arrived an order from James to appoint Jeffreys.

Timothy Hall, one of the four London Clergy who read the Declaration, was appointed Bishop of Oxford. The Canons refused to attend his installation, and the University refused to create him Doctor of Divinity. The Bishop of Gloucester accepted a presentation from the expelled President and Fellows of Magdalene to a vacant living.

The Judges were now starting on their circuits. James instructed them to teach Grand Jurors and Magistrates to elect only such members of Parliament as would support him. They obeyed their instructions, and found themselves everywhere disregarded.

The Army also was alienated. The garrison of the Tower had drunk health to the Bishops; the Foot Guards at Lambeth had welcomed the Archbishop's return; the troops on Hounslow Heath had shouted with joy for the acquittal of the Bishops. James now tried an experiment

on a regiment. The men were drawn up in line. James asked them to sign an engagement to assist in carrying out the abolition of all tests: those who refused must quit the army immediately. The regiment, with very few exceptions, laid down their arms; only two officers and a few privates (all Roman Catholics) signed the engagement. James then resolved to alter the character of his troops. Tyrconnel had been for some time forming out of the Irishers an army, likely to be distinguished by irregular and marauding habits. James now brought to England, to the intense disgust of all Englishmen, several Irish battalions and also Irish recruits. An experiment was made at Portsmouth by the Duke of Berwick, Colonel of the Eighth Regiment, who ordered thirty Irish recruits to be received. The Lieutenant-Colonel and five Captains protested, and the English privates refused to serve with them. The Lieutenant-Colonel and five Captains were cashiered. The English soldiers everywhere vented their discontent by singing a satirical ballad with a rollicking chorus of "Lillibullero." The Navy likewise was discontented and uncertain. Thus by his indiscreet, wilful, and illegal proceedings, persevered in notwithstanding warnings, advice, and opposition, James had ruined himself and prepared the way for the Prince of Orange.

In few words, James found England sternly Protestant and resolved to render it Popish—he found it Constitutional and resolved to render it Slavish—he failed in his experiments and suffered the consequences The change of 1688 was a necessity not a caprice, an unavoidable sequence of cause and effect, not an ebullition of rebellion; Restitution rather than Revolution.

CHAPTER III.

CHOICE OF SUCCESSOR TO JAMES.

Principles for Selection of Successor to James—Fitness of Prince of Orange—Invitation to him—His Difficulties—Acceptance of Invitation—Preparations for Expedition—Alarm of James.

JAMES having rendered removal or change of some kind unavoidable, and remedial attempts to retain him personally on the throne very difficult, if not impossible, the important question would arise who must succeed or supersede him, if need be. The successor must be the exact reverse of his predecessor, and there must be the least possible disturbance of the English Constitution. The whole tendency of James was (as already seen) to introduce Popery, arbitrary regal Government, and French control. The whole tendency of the Prince of Orange, as proved by his previous career, would be to exclude these evils. He was strongly Protestant and adverse to Popish power; was Constitutional in politics; had governed Holland and would govern England constitutionally; and had during seventeen years struggled and fought against France in protection of civil and religious liberty. Also his accession would be consistent with the line of Royal Succession. His wife, Mary, elder daughter of James, was heiress presumptive to the English Crown. The crisis was not fit for a Queen alone. The then general belief was that the so-called Prince of Wales was not genuine; if, therefore, his Father was set aside, he also might be set aside—and so the throne at once opened to Mary. The Prince of Orange was grandson of Charles the First, and consequently a member of the Royal Family of England; moreover, he was the head of a powerful European confederation, which might assist England on the Continent in case of war with France. This combination of circumstances indicated the Prince of Orange as the right man; and so for months he had been considered by

influential persons in England. Accordingly, on the 30th June, 1688, a formal written invitation was forwarded from London to the Hague. But this was not the first time the subject had been before him. In 1686, Lord Mordaunt, who afterwards became Earl of Peterborough, went to Holland and proposed to the Prince an immediate invasion of England. He urged the dissatisfaction of Parliament, the alarm of the Church, the wavering of the Army and Navy, and the general discontent of the nation: but Mordaunt was then too flighty to be trusted, his idea was not adopted, and he remained in Holland, and came to England in 1688.

In 1687 Lord Shrewsbury visited the Prince, and in May, 1688, Edward Russell, nephew of the Earl of Bedford, and afterwards created Earl of Orford, who had formerly resided and was well-known at the Hague, visited the Prince, and represented to him the state of England, and advised him to land with a sufficient force and summon the people to arms. The Prince required more distinct invitation and promise of support. Russell returned to England and found James more unpopular than ever—the Bishops in prison—the birth of the Queen's son universally considered a contrivance—and the excitement great and general. He consulted the old Whigs and the leading opponents of Government, Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon, assisting him. The Earl (afterwards Duke) of Devonshire immediately joined and answered for his party. The Viscount (afterwards Marquis) of Halifax would not be implicated. The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Danby (afterwards Marquis of Caermarthen), Compton, Bishop of London, and Lord Lumley joined. The Earl of Nottingham declined. Frequent meetings were held in London, and various other communications passed between England and the Hague, and on the 30th June the before-mentioned invitation in the handwriting of Sydney, and signed in cypher by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sidney, was despatched under the care of Arthur Herbert. This document stated that nineteen-twentieths of the English desired a change and would assist in effecting it, provided they had such a foreign force as would secure them from premature defeat—that if the Prince would land with some troops, multitudes would join him—that the English Army and Navy were greatly dissatisfied,

and could not be relied on by the Government—that delay would render the attempt more difficult—that they implored him to come immediately, and pledged themselves to join him and obtain co-operation—that he had erred in treating as heir to the throne the child recently produced, whom the English considered supposititious—and that he ought to announce the suspicion respecting that birth as one of his reasons for taking arms. In a few days Herbert delivered this paper to the Prince of Orange, who immediately summoned Bentinck and Van Dykvelt. Several days were occupied by them in consultation.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the feelings and condition of England were from other sources known to William: for example, through Dykvelt, who early in 1687 had been sent by the States to England, and afterwards through Zulestein, who had been sent to England with compliments on the birth of the alleged Prince of Wales.

The first step taken was, the omission of the prayer for the Prince of Wales from the service in the Chapel. The Princess, our Mary, was willing to adopt all her husband's views. "He was to her" (says Macaulay) "in the place of parents whom she had lost by death and by estrangement, of the children who had been denied to her prayers, and of the country from which she was banished. His empire over her heart was divided only with her God"—a tolerably clear proof that he never could have been "the cold, heartless, unfaithful" husband which some would represent him. Nor does Mary deserve the blame of being an undutiful daughter; for in a case of state necessity she was bound to side with her husband rather than with her father—and she could feel no particular affection for her father, whom she left when young, from whom she had never experienced any tenderness, and who had conspired with Louis and Tyrconnel to disturb her succession, and to deprive her at least of Ireland. But there were several serious difficulties in the path of the Prince of Orange, which he doubtless realized—he was a foreigner, and spoke English like a foreigner—foreign troops might excite jealousy—the expedition might fail—he must obtain from the United Provinces sanction and raise money—Amsterdam, favourable to France, might oppose—the confederation of which he was the head might break up from his absence—the Pope might call off the Roman Catholic Princes from the confederation—it was

painful also to take arms against his wife's father. That he felt this last difficulty is manifest from his words to Dr. Burnet, before the battle of the Boyne :—"Though I know that I am in the path of duty, it is hard on my wife that her father and I must be opposed to each other in the field. God send that no harm may happen to him." But at this crisis the blunders of Louis removed some of his difficulties. There had always been, especially in Amsterdam, a party favourable to France. Louis was now oppressing the Dutch settlers in France, and injured the Dutch trade by prohibiting the importation of herrings, and by increasing the duties on other articles. All Holland at once became indignant—the Prince might therefore expect the sanction of the States to his expedition. Louis also quarrelled with the Pope, and with the Archbishop of Cologne, who was an Elector of the German Empire. The confederation was therefore likely to hold together against France.

The Prince of Orange accepted the invitation from England, and proceeded to collect ships, soldiers, and sailors.

Meanwhile, communications constantly passed between England and Holland. Amongst many letters promising support were some from Churchill and Kirke, of whom more hereafter. In August, 1688, Sidney, Shrewsbury, and Edward Russell came to the Hague—Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley, who remained in England, undertook to rise in arms as soon as the Prince landed. Even Lord President Sunderland, though then in the pay of Louis and of Tyrconnel, privately conveyed promises of service.

And now Avaux, the French Ambassador at the Hague, reported to Louis that a descent on England was intended. Louis communicated this to James, and offered to send him a fleet, and make a diversion by invading Holland; but James, probably guided by Sunderland who was now playing a double game, declined the offer. At this crisis, Louis suddenly withdrew his troops from Flanders, and sent them into Germany, thereby removing another impediment from William's path. The States had privately given their consent to the expedition, and warlike appearances in their vicinity suggested a reason for the States preparing. The Prince accelerated his preparations. He selected as his second in command, Frederic Count of Schomberg, a German—a very extraordinary man, long past seventy, yet sound and active in mind and body—an excellent general, and an

excellent man—he knew England and spoke English like a native; although Protestant, he had risen to the rank of Field-Marshal in the French army, but resigned, rather than apostatise to Rome. And now the Hague was crowded by English and Scotch visitors of all ranks; amongst whom was William Carstairs, a Scotch Presbyterian Minister, in whom the Prince had the greatest confidence, of whom more hereafter.

Before sailing for England the Prince issued a Declaration or Manifesto. It set forth in detail the various violations of the English law and constitution, which have been before related. It further stated that there were grave suspicions that the child called the Prince of Wales was not really born of the Queen—that for the before-mentioned reasons the Prince had resolved, in compliance with the request of many Lords, spiritual and temporal, and of many other persons of all ranks, to go over at the head of a force sufficient to repel violence—that he abjured all thought of conquest—that whilst his troops remained in the island they should be kept under the strictest discipline, and as soon as the nation was delivered from tyranny should be sent back—that his single object was to have a free and legal Parliament assembled—that to the decision of such a Parliament he solemnly pledged himself to leave all questions both public and private. This Manifesto arrived in England and was seen by James before the Prince of Orange landed.

The States of Holland also issued a Manifesto.

At length James became frightened; he made some attempts at conciliation, some concessions, and some promises, but they were coldly received by the Nation, which had lost all confidence. He dismissed Sunderland upon suspicion of treachery—which was just—and appointed Preston Lord President in his place. He summoned the Privy Council, the Peers in London, and other important persons to examine the genuineness of his son, the Prince of Wales. The evidence was published—some were satisfied—others remained incredulous.

But all these things and all explanations and concessions were now too late. If James before the Prince sailed from Holland had honestly made ample concessions, cancelled all his illegal acts, dismissed all disqualified officials, expressed regret for his past violation of law, and engaged that, though himself a Romanist, he would not molest the Church or

interfere with the faith of his people, his subjects might perhaps have accepted his repentance and believed his promise, so strong is the English feeling of loyalty, and so bitter had been the lessons taught by the murder of one monarch, and the restoration of another. And this would have been an immense concession from a Nation whose Constitution was then exclusively Protestant. But neither before nor after the arrival of William could James be trusted. And now the arrival of the Prince of Orange as a deliverer and restorer was anxiously expected.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Arrival of Prince of Orange in England—Advance upon London—Disturbances in London—Proceedings of James—Proceedings of Convention—Coronation of William and Mary in London.

ON Thursday, 1st November, 1688, William Henry Prince of Orange, having previously been driven back by a storm,* sailed from Helvoetsluys on board the *Brill* frigate, distinguished by a flag, which bore the arms of Nassau and England interquartered and the motto "The Liberties of England and the Protestant Religion I will maintain"—the words "Je maintiendrai" being the Prince's family motto.

The Fleet comprised transports and other vessels and fifty men-of-war, all under command of Lieutenant Admiral-General Herbert,† who afterwards became Earl of Torrington. Harris states the numbers at 52 men-of-war, 25 frigates, 25 fire-ships, and nearly 400 transports for 3,660 horse and 10,692 foot, which seems to have been the full, if not an excessive number, of the actual force.

With the Prince embarked various English and Scotch noblemen and gentlemen—amongst them the Rev. Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury—also various Dutch gentlemen and officers and personal friends of the Prince, amongst whom Bentinck was conspicuous, also Nassau, Ginkell, Auverquerque, and others, who will reappear in the following narrative; Marshal Schomberg and his son, Count Charles Schomberg, and several French Huguenot officers who had left their country on the score of religion, and of whom more will be heard.‡ The English Admiral

* See History of Rapin, who sailed with him, for account of approach to England.

† The Titles of the two services were then intermixed.

‡ Medal of Expedition struck in Holland will be found in Harris, p. 187; and Cheval, p. 72.

Herbert led the van, the Dutch Vice-Admiral brought up the rear, and the Prince of Orange himself was with the main body.

On Sunday, the 4th November, his birth and marriage-day, the Prince of Orange sighted the Isle of Wight; and on the 5th November, Gunpowder Plot memorial, landed at Torbay in Devonshire. On the 6th November he marched for Exeter; on the 8th November his advanced guard, commanded by Lord Mordaunt, entered that City, and on the 9th November the Prince himself with the main body. There he remained ten days, to refresh his troops and give his adherents time to assemble. At Exeter the clergy, from their long-cherished feelings of submission to royalty merely as Royalty, did not at first cordially receive the Prince, and his lay friends came in slowly—partly because he had been expected to land in Yorkshire, and partly from the awe-producing effect following the cruelties of Judge Jeffreys subsequent to Monmouth's defeat—but from and after the 12th of November many important persons on different days joined the Prince, some at Exeter, some at Axminster, and elsewhere. Amongst these were Lord Colchester, son of the Earl of Rivers, Lord Churton, the Earl of Abingdon, Viscount Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, and the Duke of Grafton, illegitimate son of Charles II. About the same time Prince George of Denmark, husband of the Princess Anne, and son-in-law of James II., and Lieutenant-General Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, Lieutenant-General Kirke, Colonel Trelawny, the Duke of Ormond, and Lord Drumlanrig, joined the Prince. The Princess Anne, who had previously disapproved her father's doings, now partly from her own will, and partly by influence of Churchill and his wife, quitted London; thereby virtually joining the Prince of Orange. Another party may here be named, whose subsequent career proved fearfully inconsistent—Charles Talbot, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Shrewsbury. Although of a Roman Catholic family, he had become Protestant in 1679. He had even mortgaged his estates and repaired to Holland, where he tendered his purse and sword to the Prince,* with whom he afterwards sailed in his fleet to England, and to whom, when in doubt and difficulty in Exeter, he was a chief support.

* 1 Grimb., p. 254.

James resolved to join his army at Salisbury. At this crisis a deputation of nineteen Peers (Archbishop Sancroft being one) presented in London to James a petition praying him to call a free and legal Parliament, and to open negotiations with the Prince of Orange. James, however, disregarded this request, and proceeded to Salisbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth of November. He named five Peers in London as a Council to represent himself during his absence; of whom two were incapacitated as Papists, a third was Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, more hated than any Papist, and the other two were Preston and Godolphin.

Meanwhile the prospects of the Prince of Orange were rapidly improving, and the different counties were rising in his favour. About this time his Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Burnet, drew up at Exeter, upon the suggestion of Sir Edward Seymour, a short paper, whereby the subscribers "pledged themselves to stand by the Prince and one another, and to take vengeance on all who should attempt his life—and, in case of his death, to persevere until the liberties and religion of England should be effectually secured." This may be considered the origin of "The Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen," which still exists in considerable numbers, under somewhat different forms, in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

Somewhere about this time, shortly before the advance from Exeter, some person unknown to and unauthorized by the Prince—afterwards avowed to be one Speke, whose brother had been unjustly hanged by Jeffreys—published in the Prince's name a counterfeit Declaration, which required all persons "to exclude Papists from employ, to secure all strong places, and to execute all laws." This unwarranted paper upon first appearance produced wonderful excitement, especially in London, but fortunately no destruction of life or property.

On the 21st November the Prince advanced from Exeter. James was eager to fight, but found himself forsaken by those officers upon whom he most relied—amongst whom were the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Kirke, and Colonel Trelawny. Thereupon James, on the 25th November, broke up his camp at Salisbury, and proceeded to London by way of Andover, at which place more of his officers abandoned him.

On Tuesday the 27th, James, having reached London,

summoned a meeting of Peers (about forty attended), and asked their counsel. They advised him to call a Parliament, publish a general amnesty, cancel Popish appointments, and open a negotiation with the Prince of Orange. James agreed to the first point, but required a night's consideration respecting the other points. Then, as if carrying out this advice, he ordered the Lord Chancellor to issue Writs for a Parliament to meet on the 13th January; appointed Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin Commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange; published a general amnesty; and dismissed Sir Edward Hales, the Popish Lieutenant of the Tower. But all this was, as we have since learned from James's explanation to the French Ambassador Barillon, "a mere feint." His real intentions were quite different. He, however, kept up the farce of calling a Parliament and Negotiation. Some Writs were issued, and the three Lords Commissioners, who themselves were dupes, started on their errand.

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange advanced to Salisbury, where he was joined by the Earls of Clarendon and Oxford. Thence the Prince advanced to Hungerford, which place he manifestly could not have reached if vigorously opposed by the general population of England.

At Hungerford James's Commissioners had an interview with the Prince. They stated his proposals—namely, that the points in dispute should be referred to the Parliament—for which the Writs were already issuing—that meanwhile the Prince's army should not approach nearer to London than thirty or forty miles. The Lords and gentlemen friends of the Prince, present at the interview, advised him to reject these proposals; but he resolved to accept them, with some additions. He therefore replied, in writing, that he was willing to refer all questions to the Parliament just summoned, and not to advance within forty miles West of London, but he required that existing statutes should be obeyed until duly altered; that all persons holding offices illegally should be dismissed; that the King's troops should fall back to forty miles East of London; that the Tower of London and Tilbury Fort should be temporarily entrusted to the City of London; and that some guarantee should be given that the King would not, during the armistice, introduce French troops into England.

OBSERVE.—By this arrangement, if loyally and fairly

carried out, would have been performed the promise in the Prince's Manifesto to refer all questions to a free and legal Parliament—and, in fact, to a Parliament summoned by James himself, by his own Writs, and in his own capital, free from restraint or interruption, foreign, domestic, civil, or military. Nor would there have been any danger of collision or quarrel between the respective armies.* If by any means or arrangement James could have settled with his people to remain on the throne, the Prince must, according to promise, have withdrawn his troops, and left England, the only remaining question being payment of the expenses of his expedition. Lord Macaulay truly remarks that whether James considered these liberal terms to be dictated by a friendly or unfriendly intention, his policy was to accept them promptly, and observe them faithfully; and that "to dethrone him whilst he remained in his kingdom and offered to assent to such conditions as a free Parliament might impose, would have been almost impossible."—[2 Mac. 187, 195].

Meanwhile James was privately working out his own scheme. The Queen and her Infant were conducted to France by the Count of Lauzun. On the 10th December James received from his Commissioners the Prince's answer. He acknowledged the fairness of his terms; summoned all Peers in London to hear them; and appointed another meeting for the next day. He also summoned the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, exhorted them to preserve the public peace, told them that he had sent his Queen and child out of England, but pledged himself to remain. No sooner had they left him than he sent for the Great Seal and for the Writs summoning the Parliament—the Writs not issued he burned, and those actually issued he cancelled by a legal instrument. He next sent orders to his General, the Earl of Feversham, to disband the Army immediately, whereby thousands of wild and lawless men, including Irish marauders, would be suddenly thrown upon Society unemployed and unrestrained. He concealed even from his principal ministers his real intentions, and (to keep up appearances) ordered Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to attend him early the next morning. At three o'clock in the morning of Tuesday the 11th December, 1688, the King left his bed-

* XIV. Rap. 105.

chamber, taking the Great Seal with him; he crossed the Thames in a boat, dropping the Great Seal into the water, and landed at Vauxhall, whence he started for Sheerness, where a Custom House hoy waited his arrival to convey him to France. A few hours afterwards, the Peers, pursuant to the King's order, assembled in the Palace to advise him—but they had been duped, the King was gone. The Prince of Orange had not arrived. The crisis was terrible. There was no Regency, no Royal Commission for the Government, no Great Seal, and there was a lawless army let loose by Feversham. Incurable confusion and violence might have been the result, but the firmness and patriotism of Englishmen met the emergency. The Duke of Northumberland, an illegitimate son of Charles the Second, a Lord of the Bedchamber, and commanding a troop of Life Guards, immediately, at the suggestion of Rochester, mustered his troop and declared for the Prince of Orange. The principal military officers in London soon followed his example, and resolved to support the magistrates in keeping order. Next the Peers came forward as temporary administrators of the State. Twenty-two temporal Peers and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and five Bishops, on the 11th December, 1688, hastened to Guildhall, where they were received by the Mayor and Corporation. These Peers drew up and signed a declaration that they were firmly attached to the Religion and Constitution of England—that they had hoped to see grievances redressed by the Parliament summoned by the King, that the King's flight had destroyed that hope—that they had therefore resolved to join the Prince of Orange in support of freedom, the Church, liberty of conscience, and the Protestant interest—and that until the Prince's arrival they would preserve order.

The Lords Pembroke, Weymouth, and Colepepper, and the Bishop of Ely proceeded as a deputation with this declaration to the Prince's headquarters at Hungerford; and they informed him, according to their instructions, that the keys of the Tower had been taken from Colonel Skelton, the Lieutenant, and given to Lord Lucas. The same subscribing Peers also sent an order to Lord Dartmouth, James's Commander of the Fleet, stating the King's departure; and as the Prince's Fleet was then on the English

coast, and might possibly meet that under his lordship's command, they required him to give necessary orders to prevent all acts of hostility, and to remove all Popish officers from their respective commands."—[Harris, 153.]

Next the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London drew up an Address to the Prince, wherein they speak of his fervent zeal for the Protestant religion, and humbly thank him for appearing in arms in this kingdom to carry out and perfect his glorious design to rescue England, Scotland and Ireland from Popery and Slavery, and in a free Parliament to establish the religion, the laws and the liberties of these kingdoms on a sure and lasting foundation—that they had hoped for some remedy of oppressions and dangers from the King's concessions and concurrences with his Highness's purposes expressed in his Declaration, and conclude thus:—"But herein finding ourselves finally disappointed by his Majesty withdrawing himself, we presume to make your Highness our Refuge; and do in the name of this capital City implore your Highness's protection, and most humbly beseech your Highness to vouchsafe to repair to this City, where your Highness will be received with universal joy and satisfaction." This was presented by four aldermen and eight common councilmen at Hungerford.

On the same day the Lieutenancy of London prepared an Address, wherein after thanking the Prince for his undertaking, without which they would have suffered all the miseries that Popery and Slavery could have brought upon them, and expressing their intention to preserve the City in peace and safety till his arrival, they conclude in these words: "We therefore humbly desire that your Highness will please to repair to this City with what convenient speed you can, for the perfecting the great work which your Highness has so happily begun, to the general satisfaction of us all." This Address was presented at Hungerford by Sir Robert Clayton, Sir William Russell, Sir Basil Firebrace, and Charles Duncomb, the last-named of whom, a wealthy merchant, also tendered to the Prince his purse.

After receiving these urgent Addresses and Deputations the Prince of Orange had no alternative—he must advance immediately upon London; the movement must to a great extent bear the appearance of a hostile invading army, requiring on the part of the leader great discipline and tact

in dealing with the troops and the people; and upon arrival in London the Prince must virtually, for sake of safety, assume the occupation and command of that City.

The Prince immediately marched for London; but the troops of James, disbanded by Feversham, might occasion danger and delay; he, therefore, ordered Churchill and Grafton to re-assemble Feversham's army and reduce it into proper order, except the Irish troops, who were to deliver up their arms. These commands were quickly and effectually carried out, and happily no conflict or collision or accident occurred during the advance. Probably at that time most or all the officers in Feversham's army had forsaken James.

From this point it would be unreasonable to expect perfect propriety in every step and action, and it is wonderful to find so little unjustifiable or unfortunate. Henceforth confidence in James was for ever ended, and events must take their natural course to the bitter end. The throne itself might become open to the Prince by the mere operations of cause and effect or the course of circumstances.

Marvellous were the promptness and vigour of the proceedings before related; but it must be here observed that there were, notwithstanding, two or three days of terror in London. On the night of the 11th December there poured forth the scum of the population, rife for mere mischief, destruction, and plunder; which despoiled, burnt, and destroyed Roman Catholic Chapels and their paraphernalia, and various houses of individuals and of foreign Ambassadors, particularly that of the Spaniard Ronquillo; they also gutted the King's Printing Office, and made a bonfire of all paper found therein printed or not. One act of retribution there was—Jeffreys was seized by the mob at Wapping, and by the authorities lodged in the Tower to save his life.

Early on the 12th December the Lords met at Whitehall. The Train Bands were ordered under arms, and Cavalry prevented the assembly of mobs. After an anxious day, the night of the 12th December brought an extraordinary and still unexplained agitation; there was a mysterious report, which gradually spread through every part of London, that Feversham's Irish troops were approaching, and in their advance were murdering every man, woman and child; however, in a few hours the panic gradually subsided in the

same mysterious manner in which it arose. This was called "the Irish night." Macaulay well relates these disturbances.

The Prince's success seemed certain now by the conduct of James himself, and his self-withdrawal; when suddenly on the 13th December, 1688, before the Prince could arrive, intelligence was received in London that James's voyage to France had been prevented, that he had been roughly detained at Sheerness, and that he implored protection. The Peers sent Feversham with a troop of Life Guards to his aid, but he found him already liberated and gone to Rochester.

Whilst these things were going on, the Prince was, as speedily as circumstances would permit, advancing to London in pursuance of the narrated urgent summonses; and on the 14th day of December reached Windsor. On the next day two Kentish gentlemen arrived with a statement for Dr. Burnet that James was detained at Feversham, and a request to know the Prince's pleasure. The Prince ordered Zulestein to proceed immediately to Feversham, and to see the King safe and at full liberty to go whithersoever he pleased; but, before Zulestein could start, James had arrived in London, and General Feversham had arrived from Rochester at Windsor, bringing a letter from James, which stated that James was returning to Whitehall, and requested a personal conference with the Prince, for whom St. James's Palace should be prepared. Feversham was placed under arrest—nominally for coming without a pass, but probably for having so dangerously disbanded his troops, and to prevent him from meeting in London and intriguing with Barillon the French Ambassador. Zulestein was sent from Windsor to Whitehall to inform James (who had arrived there on Sunday the 16th December) that the Prince declined the proposed conference, and refused to come to London whilst there were any troops there not under his own command.

Zulestein went to Whitehall and communicated to James the answers of the Prince. James then asked the Common Council of London whether they would defend him if he took refuge in the City, but they would give no such undertaking. "They had not forgotten the seizure of their Charter and the judicial murder of Cornish," says Macaulay.

The final crisis was now fast approaching. Several Peers, in addition to those previously with the Prince, had now joined him at head quarters at Windsor. Here, on Monday the 17th December, 1688, all the Peers who were with the Prince met in solemn consultation at Windsor, Halifax in the Chair. The Prince refused to be present. The question was how to deal with James. There were some of the Peers inclined to stern measures. The Earl of Clarendon, brother to James's first wife, had privately advised the Prince of Orange to send James across the sea, and detain him in the Fortress of Breda until England was settled and Ireland safe; others of these Peers had also privately advised some kind of detention, but the Prince decidedly and firmly negatived all such suggestions; he refused to make the King a prisoner or to treat with him as such.

There was one point upon which these consulting Peers were unanimously agreed—the impracticability of James and William both being with their restive troops together in London—the perilous position must be avoided of two persons, each commanding soldiers in the same City, becoming practically rivals for the throne. So far collision and bloodshed had been avoided, partly from the alienation of James's army, and partly from the conduct and tact of the Prince; but who can judge what jealousies and animosities might arise amongst English soldiers in London, hitherto furnishing the military Guards, and Dutch and other foreign soldiers now introduced for local service. Macaulay justly says:—"That one Prince should fortify himself in Whitehall and the other in St. James's; that there should be two hostile garrisons within an area of one hundred acres was universally felt to be inexpedient. Such an arrangement could scarcely fail to produce suspicions, insults and bickerings which must end in blood." And Burnet says:—"All agreed that it was not convenient that the King should stay at Whitehall. Neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City, could have been safe if they had been both there near each other. Tumult would probably have arisen out of it." The Peers then decided that Ham, Lady Lauderdale's furnished house, would be a convenient temporary abode for James, being only a few miles from Westminster and easy of access for his friends and advisers. The Peers then requested the presence of the Prince of Orange and communicated their

proposal to him, who assented to the suggestion; and thereupon a letter was drawn up, stating that it was thought convenient for the greater quiet of the City and the safety of his person that the King should remove to Ham House, where he should be attended by his own Guards, who would be ready to preserve him from any disturbance [Harris 157].

OBSERVE—by this means, the King's English Guards and the Prince's Dutch Guards would avoid meeting. The Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, immediately proceeded to London with this letter; but unfortunately were unable to arrive at Whitehall until after midnight, and the King was roused from sleep to peruse the letter. This would naturally seem an act uncourteous and harsh; but the deputations to the Prince already mentioned, and the state of affairs, had demanded his rapid advance on London, and the tranquillization of London was imperative, and his troops had then reached Chelsea.

The King accepted the proposal of the letter, but afterwards, during the same night, suggested Rochester instead of Ham, which was before morning conceded. On the night of the 17th December the Dutch Guards took possession of the military posts at and round Whitehall, in place of the Coldstream Guards, whose brave old commander, the Earl of Craven, reluctantly withdrew his men by order of the King. On the morning of the 18th December the King again left Whitehall for Rochester, as it proved, never to return; and on the same day the Prince's troops entered London.

On the same 18th December the Prince's main body entered London, and were judiciously so divided and quartered as to avoid bickerings or jealousies between the British and Foreign troops. The Guards were supplied, and the military duties of the capital were, after the first possession of Whitehall, chiefly performed by those British troops who were in the service of the States, the three English regiments being quartered in and round the Tower, and the three Scotch regiments in Southwark. In the evening of the same day the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Marshal Schomberg, arrived quietly at St. James's Palace, whither all ranks and professions immediately hastened to welcome him. On the next day the City Magistrates, the Bishops and Clergy, the Nonconformist Divines, and the Lawyers,

headed by old Serjeant Maynard, attended in Deputations. At this time it was reasonably probable that James had either displaced himself or would be displaced by his people. And, in fact, the question arose, "How is the Revolution to be effected with the least constitutional disturbance?" Some, particularly lawyers, advised that the Prince should assume the Crown by right of conquest, and then, as King, summon Parliament by Writ, adopting the precedent set by Henry the Seventh after the battle of Bosworth; but the Prince considered that, in fact, there was no conquest; that he brought not force sufficient for conquest, and also that the course proposed would be inconsistent with his own Manifesto. He therefore declined, and determined to assemble the best possible resemblance to a regular Parliament, consisting of Houses of Lords and Commons, by summoning all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, then in London to form an Upper Chamber, and all old members of the House of Commons, and the Magistrates of the City of London, to form a Lower Chamber, to consider the state of affairs, and to decide upon the proper measures to be adopted. He accordingly summoned the Peers for the 21st December, and issued a public notice requiring all members of the House of Commons during the reign of Charles the Second, and the Aldermen of London, and a Deputation from the Common Council, to meet him on the 26th December, it being manifest that the summons could not consistently be extended to the members of James's Parliament, which had been dissolved on the 4th July, 1687, because one of the grievances complained of by the Nation was the manner in which that House of Commons had been elected, the majority of the burgesses having been returned by constituent bodies manipulated in a manner deemed illegal, and which the Prince in his Declaration had condemned. James had himself abandoned the parliament which he pretended to call. The Peers responded to the summons, and on Saturday, the 22nd December, met in their own Chamber. They invited some eminent Serjeants-at-Law and Barristers to attend as legal advisers—for no reliance could be placed either in the law or the integrity of the King's Judges—and then adjourned until Monday, when the state of the kingdom was to be considered.

This pause gave another chance for James. He had been

several days in Rochester under no restraint from his guard of honour. Friends had visited him and urged him to stay in England and see the issue of events, assuring him that good terms would be obtained and a reasonable settlement. There was also amongst some few Peers in London a lingering hope that the religion and constitution might be preserved without actual deposition. And now Archbishop Sancroft, and other influential Peers, and even some moderate Roman Catholics, sent to Rochester messengers and communications to James, entreating him to consent to proper terms, and not to quit England, where he was in no personal danger.

On Saturday, 22nd December, James assured these messengers that he would see them again the next morning; but at midnight, attended by Berwick, he privately went on board a smack, which conveyed him to France. On Sunday the 23rd his flight was known in London. His friends were crushed. He had practically abdicated. The French Ambassador, Barillon, long the spy and agent of Louis, and now intriguing for James, was sent out of England. On Monday, the 24th, the Peers again met, Halifax presiding. They presented two addresses to the Prince, requesting him to assume provisionally the Government, and to invite by circular letters, signed by himself, all the constituencies of England to send representatives to Westminster. They also ordered the removal of Papists from London. The Prince, however, resolved to wait until he had also been advised by what may be called the House of Commons. On the 26th of December the Commons met, and elected as their Speaker Henry Powle, member for Cirencester in several Parliaments. They presented addresses similar to those of the Peers. The Prince thereupon declared that he would summon a Convention of the Estates of the Realm, and until such Convention met, would assume the Government. He immediately published proclamations for continuing all Magistrates in office and for collecting the revenue. He next remodelled the army, restoring officers removed by James, and permitting the Irish soldiers, brought by James into England, to enter the Austrian service. Lord Dartmouth, who had commanded James's fleet, was removed, and the sailors were promised their arrears of pay. The City of London volunteered money, and in forty-eight hours raised two hundred thousand pounds upon the mere per-

sonal security of the Prince. Feversham was released from arrest, and orders were issued for the protection of the persons and property of the Papists. In a few days tranquillity and confidence were established. James, his Queen, and Son, were safe with Louis, who lent them the palace of Saint Germains as a residence, and allowed them an income of forty-five thousand pounds. Barillon was no longer in London, plotting and intriguing. The general Election pursuant to the Prince's circular letter proceeded—the great majority of returned members were Whigs. At this time also Scotland demonstrated in favour of the Prince of Orange. Many aristocratic and influential Scotchmen came to London, where they found and joined many others. All these (amongst them the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Arran), thirty lords and eighty gentlemen, on the 4th January, 1689, presented addresses almost identical with the English Lords and Commons; and prayed the Prince to summon a Convention of the Estates of Scotland for the fourteenth day of March, and meanwhile to assume the civil and military Government of Scotland. The Prince consented, and thus became the temporary dictator of England and of Scotland.

Things now settled down, and in a few days there was tranquillity and safety in London and in England generally.

On the 22nd January, 1689, the Parliamentary returns being completed and the Peers and Commons being assembled at Westminster, these representatives of England formed a Convention for settling the Government. The Commons sat in one House with Powle as their Speaker, and the Lords in another with Halifax as their Speaker. Both Houses commenced by requesting the Prince to continue his administration of public affairs. They then resolved to consider the State of the Nation—the Commons on Monday the 28th, and the Lords on Tuesday the 29th of January. Accordingly, on the 28th the Commons again met. It was immediately clear that James was no longer King. After a short discussion it was unanimously resolved—"That the King, James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution by breaking the original contract between the King and People, and having by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the

kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne thereby had become vacant." On the 29th January the Lords reassembled, and Hampden appeared at their Bar with this resolution of the Commons; and shortly afterwards reappeared with another Resolution—"that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant Nation to be governed by a Popish King"—to which second Resolution the Lords immediately and unanimously agreed. Two points were now reasonably certain—that James personally would no longer reign—that his successor would be a Protestant. The nice question remained—how can the Constitution and the line of hereditary succession be best preserved?

Now, as to the Lords, they were in their private feelings and opinions divisible into three principal parties. One, headed by Sherlock, for retention on the throne, controlled by conditions and guarantees; another, headed by Sancroft, for a Regency exercising kingly power in the name of James; a third, amongst whom were Danby and Compton, for declaration of Princess Mary as Queen Regnant. The Whig party, both in Lords and Commons, maintained forfeiture by violation of royal contract, the vacancy of the throne, and natural right to elect the King. No one in either house advocated, or thought of advocating, the unrestricted and unqualified possession of the throne by James. Consequently the discussion in the Lords was more minute and verbal than it had been in the Commons. First the Lords decided by fifty-one votes to forty-nine—that a Regency exercising kingly power during the life of James would not be the best expedient. OBSERVE the appointment of a Regency would have left open the question upon the death of James, whether his son the Prince of Wales should succeed to the Crown as heir—or whether he should be deemed incapable of succeeding, either as supposititious, or as a Papist, and Mary succeed as Queen Regnant.

On the 30th January the Lords proceeded to consider clause by clause the Commons' First Resolution. The Clause stating an original compact between Sovereign and People was adopted by fifty-three votes against forty-six. The Clause condemning the acts of James was adopted unanimously—the words "that James had *abdicated* the Government" were altered to "had *deserted* the Govern-

ment." Lastly came considerable discussion upon the words "that the throne was *vacant*"; and on the 31st January the Lords decided by fifty votes to forty-one "that the throne was *not vacant*."

OBSERVE—by declaring the throne *vacant* the Convention might place upon it whomsoever they pleased. Both Houses had determined that James no longer filled the throne. He was alive, therefore it would be difficult to treat Mary as his heir, and so succeeding as Queen Regnant. There was no law specifying the ruler during the period of a king abdicating or deserting and his death. Convention must therefore find a remedy for an unforeseen case. Of the discussion in the Lords the practical result was, that the Resolutions of the Commons were returned to them in this form—"That James having broken the original contract between Sovereign and People, and having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom had *deserted* the Government, but that the throne was *not vacant*—that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant Nation to be governed by a Popish King." On Saturday, the 2nd February, the Commons unanimously adhered to their original first Resolution. At this crisis, James (as if resolved to ruin himself beyond redemption) sent to the Convention a letter, conceding nothing, but exhorting them not to despair of his mercy, which should be extended with some few exceptions to those who had betrayed him. James's friends felt they could do nothing for such a wrong-headed man, and his enemies were more than ever disgusted. The conflict between the Houses continued. On Monday, the 4th February, the Peers resolved to insist upon their amendments. The Commons by two hundred and eighty-two to one hundred and fifty-one votes refused the Lords' amendments, and requested a free conference.

At this awkward crisis it became generally understood that Mary abandoned all immediate claim to the throne in favour of her husband; that Anne was willing to postpone her right of succession to the Prince of Orange; and that the Prince himself would not accept a position subordinate to his wife. As between the Prince of Orange and his admirable wife all questions had been settled in 1687, before he was invited to England. If ever she came to the throne,

they were to be King and Queen together, the Governmen being in him, and not he merely King Consort. Lord Macaulay tells us how Mary said to her husband "I did not know that there was such a difference between the laws of England and the laws of God—but I now promise you that you shall always bear rule." Dr. Lingard has therefore made no new discovery when he attributes to the Prince the design of becoming King—but the Prince did not come to England with the design of expelling James contrary to the wish of the Nation, or of seizing the Crown by conquest. If England elected him to succeed James, he would not take office subordinate to his wife, and she did not wish that he should. Indeed she had recently sharply rebuked Danby for offering to place her alone on the throne.

And now the Prince, who had hitherto been impenetrably silent, spoke. He summoned Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby and some others. He told them (we follow Burnet here) that he had been hitherto silent because he would not say or do anything to take from any person full freedom of deliberation; that he could neither court nor threaten; that some were for a Regency, which he would not oppose, but declined to be Regent; that others were for putting Mary singly on the throne, and that he should reign by her courtesy; that no man could esteem the Princess more than he, but he could not hold by leading strings; that he would not oppose such a settlement; that he would simply return to Holland, having no partiality for a Crown. Of course these matters oozed out: and the obvious remedy for all difficulties would be to appoint William and Mary King and Queen jointly.

It may here be observed that—Putting out of view the mere personal ambition of the Prince, such a man as he, so accustomed to command, so important in the European confederacy against France, so powerful in European conferences, would be in a false and powerless position as merely Prince Consort, a subject of his wife, and most perilous. Again, it would be unjust that Mary, considered heiress to the throne, should be merely Queen Consort, though doubtless she would have agreed. Halifax suggested that the Crown should be given to the Prince of Orange, and then to the two Princesses, Mary and Anne, successively—a suggestion which raised the indignation of Burnet.

The Princess Anne was willing, as before mentioned, to give precedence to the Prince of Orange.

The public mind being thus prepared, the free Conference between the Lords and Commons was held on the 6th of February, 1689. Finally the Lords resolved, with only three exceptions—first, that James had *abdicated* the Government; and secondly, by sixty-two against forty-seven votes, that the throne was *vacant*. Both Houses, being thus finally agreed, resolved,—"That the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England." The existing Oath of Allegiance was then verbally altered so as to meet the scruples of persons who disapproved the Revolution, but intended to be loyal subjects of the new sovereigns.

One important question, which had not been forgotten by the Commons, remained—"upon what conditions and subject to what safeguards was the Crown to be given?" The nation had learned a lesson from the conduct of Charles the Second, who was restored without guarantee or restriction, and of James the Second who succeeded under suspicious circumstances. It determined to enthrone William and Mary subject to a declaration of the Rights of the People. Accordingly an instrument was drawn up by Somers, afterwards Lord Chancellor, being this Declaration of Rights, which was subsequently put into the form of an Act of Parliament. This Declaration began by detailing the various violations of the Law and Constitution by James which had necessitated the Revolution—it then stated that James had abdicated—that the Prince of Orange had summoned the Estates of the Realm—that the Lords and Commons had met and deliberated, and had resolved to assert the ancient rights and liberties of England; it next enumerated the various rights which the Convention claimed as the inheritance of Englishmen—and concluded by stating that the Lords and Commons, in confidence that their deliverer would hold sacred the laws and liberties saved by him, had resolved that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, should be declared King and Queen of England for their joint and several lives, the administration of government being in William alone; and that after them the Crown should be settled on the descendants of Mary, then on Anne and her descendants, then on the descendants of William. It will

hereafter be seen what further steps became necessary and were taken for settling the devolution of the Crown under subsequent events.

Mary left Holland on the 10th and arrived in London on the 12th of February. On Wednesday, the 13th of February, 1689, the Crown was solemnly offered upon these terms to William and Mary in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, with as much State and Ceremonial as circumstances would permit. The Yeomen of the Guard lined the room. Two Chairs of State were placed on a daïs elevated by three steps, and covered by a Canopy of State, on the right of which Canopy stood the Peers, and on the left the Commons with their Speaker and Mace. The Prince and Princess walking side by side entered and took their seats under the Canopy. Both houses approached them bowing low. Halifax as Speaker of the Lords, and Powle as Speaker of the Commons, stood forward. Halifax announced that the Convention had agreed to a Declaration which he prayed their Highnesses to hear. They assented. The Clerk of the House of Lords then read in a loud voice the Declaration of Rights. After which Halifax, in the name of the Estates of the Realm, tendered the Crown to the Prince and Princess. William, in the joint names of himself and his wife, accepted the Crown. He then declared that the Laws of England should be the rule of his conduct—that he would endeavour to promote the welfare and happiness of the kingdom, and would constantly apply to Parliament for advice and assistance. The Lords and Commons then left the Banqueting Room, and walked in procession to the Great Gate of Whitehall, where the Heralds and Pursuivants in official costume received them, and proclaimed in due form the Prince and Princess of Orange as King and Queen. The same proclamation was afterwards made in the City in front of the Royal Exchange.

The Lords and Commons next passed a Bill, which received the Royal assent on the tenth day after this ceremonial, declaring the Convention a Parliament. The members of both Houses took the oath of Allegiance. On the 11th of April, 1689, William and Mary were crowned in Westminster Abbey. Various honours (as might be expected) were conferred. Amongst others Marshal Schomberg received the Order of the Garter, Prince George was

created Duke of Cumberland; and the Earl of Danby, Lieut-General Churchill, and Bentinck (one of William's dearest and most trustworthy friends who had come with him from Holland) were respectively created Marquis of Caermarthen, Earl of Marlborough, and Earl of Portland; and Viscount Mordaunt was made Earl of Monmouth. Thus, so far as England was concerned, was accomplished, and without bloodshed, the Revolution, or more correctly the Restitution, of 1688.

CHAPTER V.

IRELAND.

CONTEMPORANEOUS NARRATIVE.

State of Ireland—Tyrconnel and Fitton—James arrives—Assistance from France—Oppressive Measures—Base Coin—Confiscation and Attainder—Campaigns under Schomberg and William—Ultimately William and Mary King and Queen.

THE Act of Parliament (2 William & Mary, Sess. 1, c. 1), declared William and Mary to be "Sovereign liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland"—Ireland being always treated as passing with England. James, however, had so manipulated Ireland that this Parliamentary declaration would not be adopted without a struggle. As early as 1686, says Macaulay, "he had determined to make this island a place of arms, which might overawe Great Britain."* Dr. Lingard states that the Lord Deputy Tyrconnel intended to render his native country independent of England if James should die without issue male, and the Prince and Princess of Orange inherit the Crown. For this purpose he employed the agency of Bonrepaux† in England, and Saignelay in France, to acquaint Louis the Fourteenth with his intentions, and to solicit his powerful aid.—James 2, c. 3. In short, James and Louis were both willing, if need were, to make Ireland virtually, if not actually, a province or appendage of France. And as to the condition to which, before 1688, James had reduced the Protestants of Ireland, Harris justly observes, "that they had at least as much reason as those of England to embrace the great deliverance brought about by the arms

* Macaulay, ch. xii., vol. II., p. 304.

† Sometimes spelt Bonrepos. In 1697 he became Ambassador for France to the States General. 1 Grim. p. 141.

and courage of the Prince of Orange, and to join in every measure for shaking off a tyrannical yoke."

Upon the accession of James the Second to the throne of England, he was proclaimed at Dublin by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, on the 7th February, 1684. This seems to have been his last official act. He was immediately afterwards recalled.

Amongst other worthless and improper appointments, James made the Papist Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, nicknamed "lying Dick Talbot," Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy of Ireland; and Alexander Fitton, an apostate from Protestantism, convicted of forgery, and altogether infamous in character, Lord Chancellor. Rice, a Romanist, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, from which Court there was no Writ of Error to England, used to boast "that he would drive a coach and six through the Act of Settlement." These men zealously did their employer's work in every department. In few words, when the Prince of Orange reached England in November, 1688, all power in Ireland, civil, military, and judicial, had been transferred to Romanists; and the Irishers and the English and Scotch settlers or colonists were so antagonistic, and upon so many points, as to be certain to come to fighting, even without further external excitement. And matters were not improved by rumours widely spread, and generally by the English and Scotch believed, that there was shortly to be a general massacre of the heretics—as there had been in 1641. In self-defence armed Protestants garrisoned Kenmare, Sligo, Charleville, Mallow, Bandon, Enniskillen, and Londonderry. The first actual engagement or skirmish—if it may be called such when the assailants ran away—occurred at Enniskillen, when the inhabitants repulsed Tyrconnel's Infantry, placed the town in a state of defence, and appointed Gustavus Hamilton to be Governor. Next Londonderry, anciently called Derry, was attacked by Irishers and French, the cruel siege, gallant defence, and ultimate relief of which place are hereafter told. From the first the English Convention and William himself were most anxious that Ireland should be dealt with; but during these proceedings William was fully occupied in England, and unable to send either troops or money. Therefore, and also because he hoped that bloodshed might be spared, he attempted negotiation. Indeed, at this crisis, advice was

given by Irish noblemen and gentlemen then in London, and especially by Sir William Temple and his son John, in both of whom he justly confided, that William should try whether Tyrconnel might not be brought to an arrangement. And in fact, Tyrconnel himself pretended to open a negotiation with William, and also to consult Lord Mountjoy and other Protestants in Ireland. William's agent, Richard Hamilton, a Roman Catholic, Brigadier-General in the Irish Army, and an Irish Privy Councillor, who had been recommended by John Temple, was sent to Dublin. He undertook, if he failed in the negotiation, to return to England in three weeks. Upon his arrival in Dublin he found that Tyrconnel, if he had ever intended to treat, had abandoned the intention. Probably Tyrconnel and Hamilton had both deceived William, and understood each other. At all events Hamilton, instead of returning according to promise, remained and assisted Tyrconnel. In the first place Tyrconnel, under the pretence of quieting Ulster, sent thither Lord Mountjoy, who was cordially received by the Protestants; and afterwards sent Lord Mountjoy and Chief Baron Rice as Ambassadors to France, professedly to arrange between James and William, but in fact to be free from Mountjoy and to invite James to Ireland. Rice had private instructions to accuse Mountjoy of treachery, and to urge James to come to Ireland with a French Army; and, if James refused, then to offer to Louis Ireland as a province of France. Meanwhile Tyrconnel, with Hamilton's aid, continued to organize the Irish Army, which he raised from eight to forty-eight regiments, and called the Irish Nation to arms. On the flag of the Castle at Dublin was embroidered the motto, "Now, or never! Now, and for ever!" By the end of February, 1689, 100,000 Irishers were under arms, about 50,000 being soldiers, and the other 50,000 mere banditti or rapparees, who lived at free quarters and on plunder. In vain did Chief Justice Keating in his circuit endeavour to check such a system, whilst, on the contrary, Chief Justice Nugent declared from the Bench that robbery must be tolerated.

The Protestants were dispossessed, and their property rapidly destroyed. In Leinster, Munster, and Connaught resistance was hopeless. The before-mentioned Charleville, Mallow, Sligo, Kenmare, and Bandon were taken, the first three by Lieutenant-General Macarthy, an Irish

officer, afterwards created by James Viscount Mountcashel, who will appear again. The Protestants of Munster found their way to Enniskillen ; of Leinster to Londonderry ; both which places held out, and at both, when the proceedings of the Convention in London became known, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, professedly a Protestant, who had been left in command of Londonderry by Mountjoy, promised allegiance; and William, in ignorance of his treacherous character, sent him a Commission confirming him as Governor.

The strategy of Tyrconnel was to crush the Protestants of Ulster before assistance could arrive from England. A large force, or rather a large rabble, under Richard Hamilton, advanced into Ulster, desolating the country—and in truth the Protestants themselves, in retreating, purposely destroyed their own property on the route to Enniskillen and Londonderry rather than leave it for the enemy. In Londonderry there were 30,000 persons crowded together.

Meanwhile Mountjoy and Rice had arrived in Paris. Mountjoy was immediately, under some pretence, placed in the Bastille, where he long remained; we shall hear no more of him until the Battle of Steinkirk. That Mountjoy was deceived by Tyrconnel appears by his own circular letter, in which he says: "As soon as I saw my Lord Deputy, he told me he designed to send me to the King" (that is, James), "jointly with the Lord Chief Baron Rice, to lay before him the state of the kingdom ; and to tell him that, if he pleased, he could ruin it for him and make it a heap of rubbish ; but it was impossible to preserve it and make it of use to him ; and therefore to desire leave to treat for it." Many friends told Mountjoy that the application to him, and the whole pretended mission, were mere artifices to amuse the Protestants, and to get him out of the way. Nevertheless, though reluctantly, he accepted the office—and the trick was soon manifest. James accepted the invitation conveyed to him by Rice to go to Ireland, and asked Louis for a French Army. Louis, foreseeing a Continental War, refused for the present a French Army; but granted a Fleet, then at Brest, arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, 400 officers, and gunners to organize the Irish

forces, and £100,000 English money.* He also sent Count Rosen, a German, an experienced officer, as General in command; Maumont, Captain of the French Guards, as Lieutenant-General; Pusignan, Colonel of the Regiment of Languedoc, as Brigadier-General; Le Gar as Brigadier of Cavalry; and Boisseleau, Captain of the French Guards, as Major-General.† James was accompanied by his illegitimate son, the Duke of Berwick, and by Cartwright Bishop of Chester, the Earl of Powis, Lord Dover, and Lord Melfort; also by the Count of Avaux, a sagacious and unscrupulous man, who thought nothing cruel or wicked which would serve his cause.‡ He went nominally as Ambassador to King James, but practically as agent and spy for Louis. He was privately instructed by Louis to act with the Jacobite party in the English Parliament; and was authorized to spend 100,000 crowns amongst them. After his arrival in Dublin he soon discovered the difference between English and Irish Jacobites. To the English the Stuart dynasty was all in all; to the Irish the person who would render Ireland an independent Popish kingdom. He therefore supported the Irish Jacobite party, and reported to Louis that he might make Ireland virtually a French Province.

To return to James, he sailed in a French man-of-war from Brest on the 7th of March, 1689; on the 12th landed at Kinsale; on the 14th arrived at Cork, where he was joined by Tyrconnel; and the 24th entered Dublin with all practicable pomp. The Lord Deputy carried the sword of State before him—the Judges, the Heralds, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were present in their robes—soldiers on both sides of the road ensured an uninterrupted passage—a procession of twenty carriages of officials followed—before the Castle gate the king was met by priests and by four Romish bishops carrying under a canopy the host, at sight of which he fell on his knees and continued for some time in that position—thence he was conducted to the chapel of the

* Harris, p. 190, says that James received from Louis 15,000 Irish who were under French pay, 8 experienced Field officers, 100 of inferior rank, regiment of 100 Swiss, a band of skilled Pioneers, arms for 4,000 men, more cannon and ammunition; also a squadron of 14 Men-of-war, 6 lesser Frigates, 3 Fire Ships, together with 200,000 livres and 50,000 pistoles, with plate, tents, and a splendid equipage. Was not this conduct virtually a declaration of war? N.B. Harris refers to Reresby's Mem., p. 352.

† Harris, p. 190. ‡ Macaulay.

palace, where a *Te Deum* was performed. On the 25th, he held a Privy Council, at which he dismissed Chief Justice Keating from the Board, ordered Avaux, though a foreigner, and Bishop Cartwright to be sworn in as members, and summoned a Parliament to meet in Dublin on the 7th May. Soon afterwards he created Tyrconnel a Duke. The arrival of James was soon known and occasioned great excitement and discontent in London, William being loudly but unjustly blamed; poor John Temple, who had honestly recommended Richard Hamilton to be sent to Tyrconnel, in a paroxysm of grief destroyed himself. The question at the castle became whether James should remain in Dublin or should head his army in Ulster; and the discussions thereon in the Council were long and energetic—Tyrconnel and Avaux, advised James to stay in Dublin. Avaux earnestly supported Tyrconnel—Melfort urged James to set out for Ulster—James, disregarding the opinions of Tyrconnel and Avaux started for the north of Ireland, and advanced towards Londonderry, leaving Tyrconnel to command in Dublin; by whom, and afterwards by Simon Luttrell, the Protestants in that city were most rigorously treated; they were kept confined to their houses from sunset until dawn, not permitted under pain of death to assemble in a greater number than five; and not only the prisons, but even the churches, were filled with them arrested as suspected persons.

Meanwhile the Protestants at Strabane were attacked by Richard Hamilton, and being commanded by the treacherous Lundy retired upon Londonderry. Richard Hamilton became for the time Commander-in-Chief of the Irish army; but James shortly afterwards arrived near Londonderry, and appointed Rosen Commander-in-Chief and Maumont second, so far superseding Hamilton. Lundy was in secret communication with Rosen, and James expected that immediately upon his arrival, Londonderry would be surrendered, but found himself mistaken; thereupon he and Rosen returned to Dublin, leaving the direction of the siege to Maumont, with Hamilton second, and Pusignan third in command. The glorious history of Londonderry is hereafter more fully told—James amused himself by holding his Court in Dublin. About this time, there was an indecisive naval skirmish in Bantry Bay on the coast of Cork. After the fight, Herbert the English commander sailed to the Scilly Isles, and Renaud the French commander to Brest. Each

party claimed the advantage, and each magnified it into a victory very absurdly. *Te Deum* was sung in Dublin.

On the next day James's Parliament met in Dublin. The total number of Temporal Peers in Ireland was one hundred; of whom only seventeen attended, ten of them being Roman Catholics. Of the Spiritual Peers there attended only four Bishops, and they were Protestants. Seventeen new Temporal Peers were created by James. The House of Commons met; they were 250, all Irish, and only six of them Protestants. The most distinguished amongst them was Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, one of the members for Dublin—his remote ancestors were English colonists in Ireland, his mother was Irish. He was a Roman Catholic. He possessed an estate of two thousand a year; was well acquainted with courts and camps; had been in the English Life Guards, had lived much about Whitehall, had fought under Monmouth in Flanders, and against him at Sedgemoor; he was a brave, honourable and good officer; very popular, and what is by no means unimportant in a leading soldier, distinguished by strength and stature—he was intensely devoted to the Irish cause. We shall occasionally meet with him hereafter, particularly at Limerick. This Parliament taken as a whole was very deficient in legislative qualities: "The debates," says Macaulay, "were all rant and tumult."

On the 7th May, 1689, James from the throne addressed the Lords and Commons, thanking the Irish for their loyalty to him; declaring his resolution to abolish all religious disabilities in all his dominions; requesting both Houses to consider the Act of Settlement and redress the injuries done to the old proprietors of the land, and acknowledging his great obligations to the French King. The House of Commons passed resolutions expressing gratitude to James and to Louis. Next, at the request of James, they passed a Toleration act, purporting to give entire liberty of conscience to all Christian sects; but the concomitant Acts proved that the toleration was a mere pretence and farce. Then followed in rapid succession Acts for the destruction and spoliation of Protestants and their property. First the House annulled the jurisdiction of the English Parliament as the supreme legislative power and final Court of Appeal. Then they confiscated and gave to James the personal estates of all absentees above the age of seventeen. Next they transferred the greater part of the Tithes from

the Protestant to the Romish clergy without any compensation to the dispossessed. Again, they by acclamation repealed the Act of Settlement, thereby handing over estates without any inquiry or ceremony from Scotch and English owners to the Irishers. The Parliamentary work was completed by an Act of Attainder, containing a List of more than 2,000 persons of all ranks proscribed, who were required, without regard to circumstances and without investigation, to surrender themselves at Dublin within a fixed time—if resident in Dublin, by the 10th August—if out of Dublin, by the 10th October, 1689—in default of so surrendering, to be hanged, drawn and quartered without trial, and their property confiscated. The Act even limited the Royal Prerogative of mercy, by enacting that every pardon granted after the 1st November should be void. Moreover, the proscribed persons could not know their position until the day of grace was passed, because the List of the doomed was kept concealed in Fitton's possession, and not allowed to be seen by any.

The student desirous of further investigation on this subject may consult *Harris*, p. 231, and the Appendix thereto, No. xxxiv., containing the Act of Parliament and the List of the attainted.

This Parliament, after sitting ten weeks, was prorogued in the end of July.

During these parliamentary proceedings, trade having become ruined and money not to be procured, James endeavoured to cure the evil and remedy the want by altering and debasing the coin—as Macaulay says, "by calling a farthing a shilling." Old brass and iron, kettles, pots, pans, nails, spoilt gun-barrels and other miscellaneous metal articles were carried to the Mint, melted, coined and distributed for genuine sterling money, afterwards called "the gun money." Every piece of this inferior metal was made to represent gold and silver coin of far greater value, and was declared to be a legal tender for the superior coin in all cases. Hence an article worth one golden guinea might be bought with a coin stamped as a guinea, but intrinsically worth one penny. Hence came the toast which calls William "our deliverer from tyranny and from priestcraft, from brass money and wooden shoes." All these oppressive Acts were followed by the most rigorous persecution and plunder of the Protestants, lay and clerical. But

now these cruelties and the gallantry of Enniskillen and Londonderry became known in England, and England was roused. Whigs and Tories forgot politics and became united in common action. Enquiry was directed into the causes of the delay and mismanagement in relieving Londonderry. Lundy, the governor, then in London, was arrested and sent to the Tower; Colonel Cunningham, who had been sent to reinforce the garrison of Londonderry and had not done so, was imprisoned in the Gate House. It was resolved to send to Ireland before the end of the summer a sufficient army under the command of Schomberg; and troops and provisions considered sufficient were immediately dispatched to Londonderry under Colonel Kirke. About the same time the Enniskilleners, under Colonel Wolseley and Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, defeated the Irishers under Macarthy and the Duke of Berwick near Newton Butler, at a place called Kilgarret Hill. The Irish army broke up in the greatest confusion. Intelligence of these disasters, and also of alarming events in Scotland, were conveyed to James in Dublin. In the month of August, 1689, Marshal, then Duke Schomberg, sailed for Ireland and was followed by William himself; and after several battles and sieges, beginning with the Boyne and ending with the second siege of Limerick in October, 1691, which will all be narrated, William and Mary became what the Act of the English Parliament described them, Sovereign liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of Ireland; but by reason of the warfare requisite for this result their title might almost be considered that of the sword. Hence Harris calls William "the conqueror of Ireland;" and, indeed, there is a medal* with the inscription, *Hibernia devicta, in gratiam recepta*, 1691. If that title be just, then England may claim a greater right to Ireland than she generally asserts.

Let us now see by what contemporaneous proceedings the Crown of Scotland was secured for William and Mary.

* *See* also Chev., p. 212.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND.

CONTEMPORANEOUS NARRATIVE.

Convention—Proclamation of William and Mary—Offer and Acceptance of Crown—Proceedings in Scotch Parliament—War in Highlands—Establishment of Rule of William and Mary.

WE have seen that on the 4th January, 1689, thirty Scotch Lords and eighty Scotch Gentlemen presented in London to the Prince of Orange an address, praying him to summon a Convention of the Estates of Scotland for the 14th March, and meanwhile to assume the Civil and Military Government of Scotland. But there were peculiar impediments and difficulties in formation thereout of a working Convention such as intended.* First, the Episcopal Church, though by law established, was generally regarded as a grievance, and consequently its Bishops would be objectionable. Next, several Nobles idolised by the people, for example the Earl of Argyle,† were excluded by unjust judgments or attainders; yet they must somehow be admitted. Also the law requiring all electors to renounce the Covenant and acknowledge the King's supremacy,‡ if enforced, would exclude all Presbyterians, that is, the greater part of the Nation. William therefore invited to the Convention several deprived Peers and disregarded the law excluding Presbyterians from voting. A Convention of the Estates was summoned to meet in Edinburgh. Almost all the Shires and Burghs returned Whigs as their representatives. The elections were excited and

* B. O. T., p. 538.
† Argyll.
‡ Act. Parl. Scot., Aug. 31, 1681.

sometimes violent; and outrages were committed by Covenanters upon Episcopalian Clergy. Indeed, about this time the Episcopalian Clergy were in different places assaulted, plundered, and their houses "rabbled" to such an extent as to occasion formal complaint to William. In Edinburgh itself there was a strong party for James, and also a strong irregular party of Covenanters who, though not for James, wished to overawe and control the Convention. There was yet a third party, who contended that William and Mary ought not to be proclaimed until a Treaty of Union between England and Scotland had been obtained. The Castle, commanding the whole City, was held by James's Romish Governor, the Duke of Gordon. William was willing that the Episcopalian and Presbyterian Churches should coexist. He therefore wrote a letter to the Convention to the effect, that he was strongly attached to Protestantism, but gave no opinion as to differences between Protestants; that he rejoiced that many Scotch Nobles and Gentlemen advocated the union of the two countries, which he would gladly promote. At this time, for Scotland William's principal advisers and agents were Sir James Dalrymple of Stair and Lord Melville, a Whig and Presbyterian, both personally known to William in Holland, and Sir John Dalrymple, eldest son and heir apparent of Sir James, of whom more hereafter. Sir James was to reside in London, and Sir John, who was an able scholar and orator, was to manage the Parliament in Edinburgh. James's advisers and agents for Scotland were John Graham, Viscount Dundee, and John Lindsay, Earl of Balcarres, both also personally known to William.

On the 14th March, 1689, the Convention met in Edinburgh; nine Prelates and the Earl of Argyle and Lord Melville were present.* The Bishop of Edinburgh was Chaplain, and he prayed for King James. The Duke of Hamilton was proposed as President by the Whigs, and the Marquis of Athol by the Jacobites. Hamilton was chosen by a majority of forty; and immediately twenty of Athol's supporters went over to Hamilton. The Convention next sent a deputation to Gordon requesting him to retire from the Castle within twenty-four hours. The next day he, having meanwhile communicated with Dundee and Bal-

* M. H.—Only one Peer protested against Argyle, and he was immediately overruled.

carres, returned an evasive answer; whereupon heralds and trumpeters in due form summoned the Castle, denouncing the penalties of high treason upon retention. Two days followed in uncertainty, and Edinburgh was agitated; Dundee was communicating with Gordon and collecting soldiers. During this period a person named Crane arrived in Edinburgh, bearing a sealed letter from James, addressed to the Estates; but there was no communication from James either to Dundee or to Balcarres. They trusted that this letter would prove prudent and beneficial in its tone and effects. On Saturday, 16th March, the Convention again met, Dundee and Balcarres being present. Crane, bearing the letter, was admitted into the Parliament House, and the letter was laid on the table. The letter previously written by William, and in the hands of the Earl of Leven, was also produced, and first read. Then James's letter was read—the most imprudent and suicidal—wherein he promised pardon to those *traitors* who should return to their allegiance within fourteen days, but threatened unsparing vengeance against all others. The letter itself was destructive enough, but, as if to render it still more destructive, it was written and countersigned by James's so-called Secretary of State, Lord Melfort, hated as an apostate in creed, legally disqualified from holding office, and equally disliked by Whigs and Tories. James, as in England so in Scotland, had by his own folly ruined his cause—his enemies were vehement, his friends crushed—no good could be effected for such a man. The Assembly broke up in great confusion, to meet again on Monday, the 18th March.

During this Saturday afternoon Dundee, Balcarres, and the other Jacobite leaders met, and resolved, pursuant to certain powers and instructions in their possession from James, to quit Edinburgh and form a Royal Convention at Stirling. On the Monday, when all were prepared to start, Athol asked for a delay of twenty-four hours—all except Dundee, who knew that he was personally in danger of assassination, assented—he refused and with his own troopers started. The other Jacobites proceeded to the Parliament House in Edinburgh, where a fearful scene soon arose from the information that Dundee and his troopers had been seen to ride out of the City by the Stirling Road. Hamilton, the President, ordered the doors to be locked, and no one to leave the room. He then sent Lord Leven

into the streets to summon the citizens. The drums beat to arms, the Covenanters assembled in great numbers, and so all immediate disturbance by Jacobites or others was prevented. The Convention adjourned to the next day.

There seems to have been no urgent reason for Athol's delay; but the precipitate step of Dundee* had practically commenced Civil War. Accordingly, on Tuesday the 19th March, the Convention, having again met, resolved that the Kingdom should be placed in a state of defence. All Protestants between sixteen and sixty were ordered to appear armed upon the first summons.

The Convention next sent to William a letter of thanks, which was signed by many noblemen and gentlemen hitherto favourable to James; the Bishops unanimously refused to sign. It was the practice of the Scotch Parliament to appoint out of their members a Committee, called "Lords of the Articles," for preparation of Acts. In conformity therewith the Convention now appointed a Committee of twenty-four, called "Lords of the Articles" to frame Resolutions and principles of Government—eight being Peers, eight County Members, and eight Burgh Members—the majority were Whigs, and not one Bishop amongst them.

At this juncture the Duke of Queensberry arrived from London, and infused a short-lived energy into the Jacobites. They seem to have thought that, if Gordon could be induced to fire upon the City, the Convention would be frightened from Edinburgh; and contrived to convey to Gordon a request to fire, who, however, refused. About this time also arrived three Scotch Regiments, eleven hundred strong, who had come with William from Holland, and were commanded by a Highlander, Hugh Mackay, an experienced, brave, and pious soldier;† him the Convention immediately declared General of their forces.

The Resolutions prepared by the Lords of the Articles‡ were now considered and were adopted by the Convention. They closely resembled the Resolutions drawn up at Westminster; but, instead of declaring that James by his flight had *abdicated*, they declared that "James had by his misconduct *forfeited* the Crown," and recommended that the Crown of Scotland should be settled in the same manner

* Dundee had on 16th of March signed a Resolution in the Convention not to break up that body, even if James's letter commanded it.

† B. O. T.

‡ As to powers, &c., of Lords of Art., *see* 1 Dal., p. 376.

as the Crown of England. The Resolution that James had forfeited his Crown was carried with only five dissentients*—Queensberry and Athol withdrawing from the division.

The Resolution, that the Crown of Scotland should be settled in the same manner as the Crown of England was carried unanimously, Queensberry and Athol voting for it, upon the ground that, if James were removed, William would be his appropriate successor. Sir John Dalrymple was the principal framer of the Resolutions, and now, aided by Sir James Montgomery, Member for Ayrshire, strongly supported—whilst the Archbishop of Glasgow and Sir George Mackenzie opposed them. The exact words of the first Resolution, which was afterwards embodied in an Act, are thus given by Walter Harris :—"That King James, being a professed Papist, did assume the Royal power and acted as King without ever taking the Oath required by Law, and had by the advice of evil and wicked Counsellors invaded the fundamental constitution of this Kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power ; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion and violation of the laws and liberties of the Nation, inverting all the ends of Government, whereby he had forefaulted the Crown, and the Throne was become vacant." These Resolutions having passed, the Convention, headed by their President, Hamilton, went forth in procession to the High Street, attended by the Lord Provost and the Heralds, and proclaimed with sound of trumpet, William and Mary as King and Queen of Scotland. And on the same day the Convention ordered the Clergy to publish from their pulpits this Proclamation, and to pray for the King and Queen.†

The Convention next adopted a written Instrument drawn up by the Lords of the Articles, and called "The Claim of Right," which resembled "The Declaration of Rights" drawn up in London. This Instrument professed merely to declare the existing national law of Scotland which was to be preserved, but inconsistently exceeded this mere declaration by pronouncing Episcopacy, which was part of the national law, an unsupportable burden, long hateful to the people, and requiring abolition. This Instrument had

* Harris says twelve, p. 181. † M., p. 21 ; Mina, 46.

an Appendix, which exhibited a list of grievances, requiring new laws for their remedy. It declared that torture without evidence, or in ordinary cases, was illegal; leaving the necessary inference that in extraordinary cases it might be employed, instead of suggesting its entire suppression. The Convention next revised the Coronation Oath, and appointed three of their members, namely, the Earl of Argyle for the Peers, Sir James Montgomery for the Shires, and Sir John Dalrymple for the Towns, to convey the Claim of Right, the Offer of the Crown, and the Coronation Oath, to London. The Convention then adjourned for three weeks, having previously empowered Hamilton to take such measures as might become needful for the public safety.

On the 11th May, 1689, these three Commissioners came to the Council Chamber at Whitehall, and thence, attended by all Scotchmen of rank or note in London, proceeded to the Banqueting House. There they found William and Mary seated under a canopy, and surrounded by English Nobles and Statesmen. On this occasion the Sword of State was carried by a Scotch Noble. The Commissioners then tendered the Crown of Scotland to William and Mary, and the tender was accepted. Argyle next read "The Claim of Right," which was acknowledged; and afterwards proceeded to administer the Oath after the Scotch manner, Argyle pronouncing the words slowly and distinctly—William and Mary, with upraised hands, repeating after him. When Argyle arrived at the last clause, that the King would "root out all heretics and all enemies of the true worship of God," William paused and said, "I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor." The Commissioners replied that "neither the words of the Oath nor the laws of Scotland placed him under any such obligation." "Then," replied William, "in that sense I swear, and I desire you all, my Lords and Gentlemen, to witness that I do so." Thus were William and Mary created King and Queen of Scotland.

William immediately upon this, his accession, found himself involved in difficulties and discontents. Appoint whom he might, he would assuredly offend some of the Scotch politicians, who were not generally distinguished for private honour or public integrity. Several State Offices he put in Commission, thereby endeavouring to satisfy a greater

number of aspirants. He appointed as his Ministers for Scotland, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord High Commissioner; the Earl of Crawford, a rigid Presbyterian, President of the Parliament; Sir John Dalrymple, an able politican and debater, Lord Advocate; his father, *Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, most learned of Scotch jurists, Chief of the Court of Session; and Lord Melville, a moderate man, standing well with Presbyterians and Episcopalians, Chief Secretary, to reside generally in London, and communicate between London and Edinburgh; Sir William Lockhart, an able man, was made Solicitor General; and the before-named Presbyterian Clergyman, William Carstairs, Chaplain to their Majesties for Scotland. Carstairs was a remarkable and very able man, in whom William greatly confided. He had been entrusted some years before by Fagel, Pensionary of Holland, with important secrets, which he did not reveal, although tortured in Scotland by boot and thumb screw. He came over with William to Torbay, and proved his true friend and faithful adviser wherever he was. A factious difficulty immediately arose. Sir James Montgomery,† one of the three Commissioners to present the Crown, might naturally expect office—and he expected to be Prime Minister for Scotland—but he was considered both by Episcopalians and Presbyterians likely to be too violent, and therefore Melville was preferred. Because not made Prime Minister, he refused to be Lord Justice Clerk, which was offered to him, and returned to Edinburgh indignant. He and the Earl of Annandale, Lord Ross, Sir Patrick Hume, Fletcher of Saltoun, and some other discontented and unquiet men formed a Society, a strange jumble of Republicans, Whigs, Tories, Presbyterians, and Prelates, called "The Club," resolved in every way to oppose and annoy the Government. They appointed a Clerk, and met daily to concert their plans. Montgomery had now become the enemy of William.

But, notwithstanding this presentation of the Crown, the struggle was not concluded in Scotland. Civil War was not yet extinct in the Highlands. Dundee, as already stated, had left Edinburgh. Whilst the three Commissioners were in London an emissary from James, then in Ireland,

* *Observe* the early connection between William and the Dalrymples as to Scotland.

† *See* 1 Dal., p. 379.

was arrested: he bore letters to Balcarres and to Dundee, written in an unyielding spirit, announcing a day of vengeance and the intended severity of James. Hamilton, under the powers conferred upon him by the Convention, arrested Balcarres, but could not reach Dundee, who, on the 1st May, 1689, joined Colin Macdonald, of Keppoch, nicknamed "Coll of the Cows,"* a Highland Jacobite, then in arms before Inverness. Dundee succeeded in collecting a force of Highlanders, amongst whom were this Keppoch and Macdonald of Glencoe, of whom we shall hear again very painfully. The Highland clans were much influenced by hatred of one another; those Clans which joined Dundee being principally, if not entirely, influenced by dislike to the Campbells. Viscount Tarbet, a member of the Mackenzie family, knowing that in fact the Highlanders cared little or nothing for either James or William, suggested to Secretary Melville and to General Mackay that £5,000, judiciously applied among the Chiefs, would draw them all off from Dundee. The attempt was made, but failed, principally because a Campbell Highlander was employed as negotiator. Battle was now, sooner or later, inevitable. Mackay, taught by experience of Highland campaigning, suggested that a chain of fortresses should be built and garrisoned for the control of the Highlands, beginning at Inverlochy. We shall hereafter find that a Fort was built there. Dundee, impeded by quarrels amongst the Clans, wrote to Dublin for a few thousand regular soldiers; he feared to risk battle without them. Mackay also found it advisable to withdraw from the mountains, where he could only exhaust his men by fruitless pursuit of an enemy intimately acquainted with the ground, its passages, glens, and fastnesses. Thus, as if by mutual understanding, the Civil War was, in the month of June, for a time suspended. At this period the Earl of Angus raised for William a regiment then and now called "the Cameronians"—Cleland, a strong opponent of Dundee in the Convention, being the first Lieutenant-Colonel. Edinburgh Castle, after holding out two months, was now surrendered by the Duke of Gordon.

Meanwhile the Commissioners had returned from London, and the Convention reassembled after their adjournment. Hamilton was present as Lord High Commissioner,

* From his cow-stealing and tracking abilities.

and Crawford took the chair as President. The regalia, crown, and sceptre were exhibited in the Parliament House. An Act turning the Convention into a Parliament, following the English precedent of 1660; and another Act declaring William and Mary King and Queen, were quickly passed, and touched with the sceptre—the mode of giving the Royal assent. The before-mentioned "Club," under the lead of Montgomery, immediately employed its full powers for mischief and disturbance. First they rejected the Government proposals for the reformation of the Committee of Articles, which could even act as a kind of Grand Jury by preventing Bills being brought before the House. Next they carried a law, intended to affect the Dalrymples, whereby the King was incapacitated from employing any person who had ever been concerned in measures inconsistent with the Bill of Right. The Ministers endeavoured to introduce a Bill establishing and regulating the Presbyterian Church Government—there being, under existing circumstances, no such Government—but the Club carried a Resolution that ecclesiastical should be postponed to secular matters; and then claimed for Parliament a *veto** on the nomination of Judges, and even on the appointment of all other high functionaries; and prevailed upon the House to refuse supplies until their measures were adopted. At length Hamilton, worn out by their vexatious proceedings, prorogued the Parliament.

And now the Civil War in the Highlands recommenced. Dundee had despatched several messages to Ireland, requesting James to come personally either to the north of England or to Scotland, but not to bring with him Lord Melfort, and not to make prominent his own religion. The Irish generally were unwilling to go to Scotland. James sent to Dundee only 300 men and some arms and ammunition;† had he gone himself he would at least have greatly increased the difficulties of William. The Marquis of Athol, a powerful Chief, was uncertain—being sometimes for William and sometimes for James. His eldest son, Lord Murray, declared for William; his confidential agent, Stewart of Bellenach, for James. The most important point in Athol was the seat of the Marquis, Blair Castle; and distant therefrom about five miles south was a glen, or

* O. T., p. 539; 3 M., p. 50.

† Clarendon correspondence.—O. T., p. 540; 3 M., p. 51.

pass called Killiecrankie. Stewart took possession of Blair Castle.

Lord Murray with twelve hundred men appeared before the place and demanded admittance, and, being refused, marched to Killiecrankie. Mackay meanwhile had collected his forces, comprising three Scotch regiments, an English regiment, then called Hastings', afterwards the thirteenth of the Line, and two Lowland regiments, one of them being called "the King's Own Borderers," and two troops of horse, the entire force amounting to about 3,000 men.* Dundee also, assisted by the Highland Chief Lochiel, had assembled about 3,000 Highlanders, and the 300 before mentioned Irish Infantry from Ulster, commanded by Cannon, who joined him on his march. Cannon had served in the Netherlands. Mackay and Dundee from opposite points advanced upon Blair Castle. At the Pass of Killiecrankie Mackay found Lord Murray with three or four hundred men, his force having dwindled to that number. On Saturday, the 27th July, 1689, Dundee reached Blair Castle, and, learning that Mackay was already at Killiecrankie, marched to that point. The forces on both sides were equal, or nearly so. A short but fierce battle ensued, in which a charge with Highland broadswords turned the day in favour of Dundee. Mackay's troops were thrown into confusion and entirely routed, but were not followed—partly because the victors had suffered too severely, partly because they had fallen upon plunder, being the provisions and baggage of the vanquished, but principally because Dundee was dead. He was killed by a musket ball at the head of his cavalry, and, in fact, his death was nearly equivalent to a defeat of his army. Mackay, having re-collected some of his surviving men, reached Weem Castle, where he was hospitably received—thence he proceeded to Castle Drummond, held for William—and thence to Stirling. He soon received new troops, and advanced against a part of Cannon's force, Robertsons, who were approaching Perth; and on the 31st July, only four days after Killiecrankie, he met and defeated the Robertson Clan. The forces of Cannon, who had succeeded Dundee in command, had been considerably increased by accessions after Killiecrankie. On the 21st August he attacked with four or five thousand men Dunkeld, which was garrisoned by the before mentioned Cameronian

* Harris makes the numbers on both sides greater.

regiment. After a severe fight Cannon retired to Blair. Cannon's army, like all Highland organisations, was internally in a discordant condition, and now rapidly broke up and disappeared. The cause of William was safe. Some of the Highland Chiefs, indeed, signed a declaration of allegiance to King James, and an undertaking to meet again when required; but they never again met, and on the 24th August, 1689, the Gaelic army had ceased to exist. The Highlanders went to their rocks, and Cannon, with his Irishmen, retired to the Isle of Mull. Mackay advanced upon Blair Castle, which surrendered; and he then placed a chain of military posts extending as far as Inverness, thus checking and controlling the movements of the Highlanders.

This trouble removed, the before mentioned Club renewed its perturbations. They originated addresses, inflamed the people, threatened to over-awe the Privy Council and to control the King; however, the Government reopened the Courts of Justice which the Estates had closed, and the judges appointed by the King took their seats, Sir James Dalrymple presiding.

Thus by the before mentioned proceedings, civil and military, the sovereignty of William and Mary was finally established in Scotland. The gallant Mackay, who contributed to such establishment, afterwards died a soldier's death in the Netherlands, as we shall hereafter learn.

It may be convenient here to add, that after these events the Presbyterian was settled to be the established form of Religion in Scotland; but the Episcopalian Church also has ever since existed, and still exists* as a recognised Church.

* How long it will be so cannot now (1882) be predicated; 1 Dal., 425*n*.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Difficulties of Various kinds—Selection of Ministers—Proceedings in Parliament—Attempt to Amalgamate Protestants—Mutiny Act—Cases of Titus Oates and Others—War with France.

HAVING thus enthroned William and Mary as King and Queen of England, Ireland, and Scotland, we will pursue the general course of events in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Holland, as nearly as possible in chronological order. The scene of action will be frequently changed, for the reader must remember that William was not only King of England, but also Stadtholder of Holland, and Head of the European Confederation against France, and had duties to perform in all these capacities in England and on the Continent, sometimes of a very energetic character.

We have seen the prior difficulties of William, we shall now see his subsequent difficulties from his coronation until his death—party intrigues, Jacobite plots, schemes for his assassination, treacherous ministers, anxieties of the European Confederation, petty jealousies, and unworthy suspicions. With the exception of his wife and a very few Dutch friends who came with him, there was in England scarcely an individual upon whom he could cordially rely. A Whig member of the House of Commons, John Somers, in due time Lord Chancellor, amongst Englishmen, and William Carstairs, amongst Scotchmen, were to him the most honest and trustworthy.

His first difficulty was the selection of Ministers of State and members of the Royal Household. The former must be obtained from conflicting politicians, Whigs and Tories; many of whom would play a double game between William and James. Harris says, "that he vainly attempted to

reconcile factions by balancing the two parties one against the other;" but he seems from time to time to have been controlled by circumstances rather than by any such principle, and to have ultimately been driven by necessity to the formation of a homogeneous ministry, so far and so long as possible.

The same difficulty existed respecting naval and military chiefs. Neither Russell nor Marlborough could be trusted. William always acted as his own Minister for Foreign Affairs, for which he was pre-eminently qualified. No one except Sir William Temple could have approached his fitness, and Temple would accept no office. Heinsius, Grand Pensioner of Holland, was the Counsellor upon whom William could securely rely in foreign affairs; and he could well manage Holland whilst his master was absent in England. The Marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, was appointed President of the Council; the Marquis of Halifax, a trimmer between Whigs and Tories, was appointed Lord Privy Seal and remained Speaker of the House of Lords; the Earl of Nottingham, a Tory, originally unfavourable to the revolution but willing to serve William as King, was appointed one of the Secretaries of State; the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose name will again occur, was appointed another Secretary of State; Lord Delamere, afterwards Earl of Warrington, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Amongst the seven Commissioners of the Admiralty was Admiral Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, who had commanded the fleet which brought William to England; and amongst the four Commissioners of the Treasury was Lord Godolphin, a Tory and Churchman. Two other Commissioners of the Navy were William Sacheverell, Whig, and Sir John Lowther, Tory, members of the House of Commons. Charles Viscount Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, and finally Earl of Peterborough, Whig, was made first Commissioner of the Treasury —a strange appointment by reason of the eccentric character of the man, who was fitter for dashing and almost impossible military exploits than for finance or regular administration of any kind. No one was at present made Lord Chancellor. The Great Seal was put in Commission, the aged and learned Serjeant Maynard, the head of the Bar, being Chief Commissioner. The twelve new judges were well selected. The Attorney General was Sir George Treby,

and the Solicitor General, the before-named John Somers. In the Royal Household were the Earl of Devonshire and Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney; and William's three faithful and justly esteemed countrymen and friends, Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland, Zulestein, and Auverquerque. Marshal Schomberg was made Master of the Ordnance. John Howe, who represented Cirencester in the Convention, more commonly known as Jack Howe, was appointed Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, and proved a strange, acrimonious, and troublesome official. The Solicitor to the Treasury was Aaron Smith, whom we shall hereafter see in action.

On the 18th February, 1689, the Houses of Parliament commenced business. As before mentioned the Lords and Commons passed an Act declaring the Convention a Parliament according to the precedent of 1660.* This Act contained a provision that no person should after the first day of March sit or vote in either House without taking the oath to the new King and Queen. The Jacobites flattered themselves that there would be great difficulty in obtaining this oath; however, by the 2nd March the members had complied. As to the Royal Revenue, it was agreed that all the lands of the Crown, and all duties already granted to the Crown for a fixed term of years, belonged to William and Mary, free from Parliamentary control; but such part of the Royal Revenue as Parliament could control was granted to William only for one year. It was natural that William, a foreigner, and then in full consciousness of the benefits he had just conferred on England, should feel this an ungenerous and ungracious form of concession, when contrasted with the mode adopted towards his two predecessors, who had ruined their country, and to whom the whole royal revenue was at once passed on accession, without restriction and almost by acclamation. One portion of the fixed royal revenue arose from a Tax called Hearth or Chimney Money, assessed according to the number of fireplaces in every house. On his march from Exeter William had been told that this tax was oppressive, and now to his own personal loss he abolished it.

Next was passed the first Act for governing the army as a separate and distinct body under its own peculiar laws, called "The Mutiny Act." If James had acted wisely

* See Stat. 1 W. & M. Sess. 1, c. 1.

instead of despotically and illegally, he might himself have introduced such a system without outraging the feelings of the nation or the existing laws, and obtained a moderate standing professional Protestant army, especially after the ill-conceived invasions of Argyle and Monmouth. There was an emergency in James's reign, military desertion, and, as we have seen, he treated it by illegal executions under the common law, or by warping a particular Statute from its meaning. There was an emergency now, military disobedience, and William sought the permanent remedy by application to Parliament. The origin of the first Mutiny Act was this. France had declared war against Holland, who applied under the Treaty of Nimeguen to England for troops. Some English regiments refused to go, and it was felt that the common law could not be employed to meet the exigency. The mutineers were for the time by military force compelled to submit, happily without bloodshed; but the necessity for soldiers to be governed by their own code and regulations became manifest. Thereupon the aid of Parliament was invoked, but cautiously. The first Mutiny Act was very short in enactments and to continue only six months. It recited that standing armies and courts martial were unknown to English law, and enacted that no soldier should on pain of death desert his colours or mutiny. At the expiration of the six months another similar Act was passed, also only for six months; and so on until the present practice was established of regulating and governing the army, now a national institution, by an annual Mutiny Act, which is requisite for the legal existence of a recognised force, whereby frequent meeting of Parliament is indirectly secured, if only to preserve the army in existence. Next, to prevent plots and conspiracies, a temporary Act was passed, enabling the King to retain in custody for a few weeks suspected parties, already prisoners,—very different from the total repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act which James had contemplated.

A day was now appointed for the call of both Houses, and for taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. No unsworn person should be allowed to sit or vote after the 1st of March then ensuing. On the 2nd of March the oaths were taken by many members of both Houses; and it may here by anticipation be stated that, sooner or later, they were taken almost universally by all persons concerned.

The Primate Sancroft held out, and some other Bishops. "Ailesbury and Dartmouth," says Macaulay, "had as little scruple about taking the oath of allegiance as they afterwards had about breaking it. The Hydes took different paths—Rochester complied with the law, but Clarendon proved refractory." Their names will occasionally reappear hereafter.

The House of Commons, without a division, granted £600,000 for repayment to the United Provinces for the expenses of their expedition under the Prince of Orange to England.

Unfortunately the manner and deportment of William were generally cold and unattractive, and his predecessor, Charles, to gain popularity, had much lowered "the dignity which doth hedge in a king." On the other hand, fortunately, the dignified appearance, the manner, the graciousness, the purity, the high-toned morality of his consort, at once attracted, charmed, and commanded the respect of the Court and of the public, and balanced, if it did not expiate, her husband's shortcomings.

Complaints soon commenced of maladministration. Doubtless there had been during the preceding reigns of Charles and James most lamentable abuses and corruptions, and the blame was now unjustly charged on William; but no fault was found with the department of Foreign Affairs conducted by himself, who acted cordially with Anthony Heinsius, the wise and able Pensioner of Holland, in protecting England and Holland, and in opposing France.

In this year, 1689, and indeed sooner, William used every exertion, in and out of Parliament, to amalgamate all orthodox Protestants into one united body.* The first legal indulgence was now granted to Dissenters, and the last endeavour made to incorporate Presbyterians with the Church of England;† and William, by education a Presbyterian, and in England, by conformity a Churchman, could sympathize with both parties, and was not inclined to permit what he would consider comparative trifles to impede a great and beneficial object. His first object, Macaulay says, was to obtain for Dissenters the free celebration of worship; the second, to make such alterations in the Church ritual as might bring in moderate Nonconformists; his third, to open civil offices to Protestants without distinction of sect.

* Kennett, iii. p. 530. † *Ibid.*

In fact William contemplated a genuine Protestant indulgence, not the sham and deceptive indulgence of James. Accordingly in February, 1689, Lord Nottingham brought into the House of Lords the Toleration Bill, for the first object; and the Comprehension Bill, for the second object. The former passed rapidly through both Houses, received the Royal assent, and was then considered a great gain; the latter was so dealt with and so opposed in and out of Parliament, and even by Presbyterians themselves, that it came to nothing. The general scope of the Comprehension Bill, as originally drawn, is stated by Macaulay to have been, substitution of a general approval of Church Doctrines for special subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, admission of Presbyterian Ministers as Church Ministers by imposition of a Bishop's hand without entire re-ordination, liberty to wear or not the surplice, to use or not the sign of the Cross in Baptism, to baptize children with or without sponsors, to give the elements in the Communion to recipients kneeling or sitting, and a Royal Commission for revision of the Liturgy, Canons, and Ecclesiastical Courts. The before mentioned third object was so mixed up, in and out of Parliament, with the second, and there was so much dissension amongst the parties most interested, that nothing was done; and the Test and Corporation Acts, which kept Dissenters as well as Papists out of office, remained. Parliament next settled the oath of allegiance, and the oath and ceremonial for the Coronation. The declaration against Transubstantiation (Charles II.) remained in force. All these safeguards would practically exclude and were intended to exclude Papists from office, Parliament, and the Throne.

In April, 1689, one of William's governing principles, opposition to France, was called into action. A French army under Marshal Duras invaded and desolated the Palatinate, committing horrible atrocities. Thanks to William, the European coalition, consisting of England, Spain, the Emperor of Germany, the Germanic Federation, the Austrian Princes, and the Batavian Federation (Protestants and Catholics together) was firm and complete. The only ally of France was the Grand Sultan of the Turks, then fighting with Austria. The Pope gave no sanction to France. War against France was successively declared by the other European Powers, and lastly in May, 1689,

with the full support of his Parliament, and after application from Germany, Spain, and Holland, by William, who in his Manifesto named as one cause of war French interference in Ireland.

The Session of Parliament continued. The attainders of Lord William Russell, and of Sidney, Cornish, and Alice Lee were reversed: the sentence of degradation and scourging of the clergyman Samuel Johnson had been, so far as possible, compensated by the gift of one thousand pounds and a pension. The Earl of Devonshire's sentence to pay thirty thousand pounds for a blow within the precincts of Whitehall, was set aside. But the most remarkable case was that of Titus Oates, the denouncer of the Popish plot in the reign of Charles the Second. Doubtless there was some kind of a plot for the restoration of Popery and the establishment of arbitrary regal power—of which, in a lazy, listless manner, Charles knew something; his Romish Queen knew more without taking any active part; and James, then Duke of York, his wife and Jesuit priests knew most—but the plot as narrated by Oates was a lie, and its concocter a murderer. Oates had been sentenced in the reign of James the Second to the cumulative punishment of degradation from the priestly office, perpetual imprisonment, scourging, and the pillory periodically. He now brought his sentence before the House of Lords as the Supreme Court of Appeal upon a Writ of Error from the Court of King's Bench. Observe, hereon the only question to be tried was this—"the prisoner being guilty in fact, was the sentence consistent with law?" The nine Judges attending the House of Lords advised, as they were bound to do, that the sentence was illegal. The Lords ought immediately to have reversed the judgment of the King's Bench. But the just indignation against the man drew away attention from the only point, and consequently the Peers, by thirty-five to twenty-three votes, affirmed the judgment. Thereupon the House of Commons brought in a Bill annulling the judgment, a most unusual course—thus the two Houses were in collision. After some other proceedings and a conference between the two Houses, the difficulties were got over in a clumsy manner, by Oates receiving pardon and liberty. Subsequently the Commons petitioned that he should also have a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which was granted. This transaction has sometimes been

unfairly represented as a reward spontaneously granted to a wretch by William.

As to the exact facts, extent, and particulars of the Popish plot, there may still be considered to rest mist and uncertainty. But Coleman the Jesuit virtually shows that there was some sort of plot; but he contends that his words—"We have a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the subduing of a pestilent heresy which has dominated a long time—there were never such hopes since the days of Queen Mary as now in our day"—had no criminal meaning or design. And, indeed, in our own times words marvellously similar have appeared in print without legal challenge. "We have," says a Roman Catholic Archbishop, who assumes an English territorial title of the present day, "to subjugate, to conquer and rule an imperial race. We have to do with a will which reigns throughout the world, as the will of old Rome reigned once—we have to bend or break the will which nations have found invincible and inflexible. Were heresy conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world."

But whatever nature or extent of plot may have then, or may now exist, the particular plot, as narrated by Oates, involved innocent parties, was a lie, and its concocter a murderer. But Oates had been sentenced illegally, and therefore, was legally entitled to relief, however personally unworthy.

Next, the before mentioned "Declaration of Rights" was turned into a "Bill of Rights," it being thought that regular Parliamentary action was advisable. It passed rapidly through the Commons, but met with an impediment in the Lords. The Bill did not provide for a contingency manifestly possible—namely, the deaths of Mary, William, and Anne, all without issue. Burnet, then become Bishop of Salisbury, proposed to limit the Crown in that event upon Sophia, Duchess of Brunswick-Lunenburg, grand-daughter of James the First, a Protestant. The Lords unanimously adopted; the Commons for some unknown reason unanimously rejected this suggestion. At this crisis Anne gave birth to a son, and the Bill was dropped for the present, to be resumed thereafter.

William being desirous that an Act of Amnesty should be speedily passed and with as few exceptions as possible,

had brought the subject before the Commons on the 25th March, 1689; but they lost so much time in making the exceptions (one of them, Judge Jeffreys, died in the Tower on the 18th April) that nothing was done. The final result will hereafter appear. A Parliamentary attack was made upon Caermarthen, then Lord President, and upon Halifax, the Privy Seal, but they retained their places. Marshal Schomberg appeared before the House of Commons to thank them for the grant of one hundred thousand pounds, and to take leave on going to Ireland. And on the 20th August, 1689, the day before the battle of Dunkeld, which terminated the War in Scotland, the English Parliament, having sat since January, rose for an interval.

On the 12th August, 1689, Schomberg sailed for Ireland, where he landed on the 20th August. After taking Carrickfergus he advanced to Dromore, and thence to Dundalk, where he remained several months in a fortified camp. The state of the Navy was now justly complained of. Herbert, created Earl of Torrington, was brave and skilful —he had been Rear-Admiral of England under James, and was now Admiral of England and First Lord of the Admiralty, for which he was incompetent, so much so that the Navy lost all discipline, and French privateers infested the Channel. War was raging on the Continent. The French were attacked on all sides, and the campaign was favourable to the Confederates. Walbeck, under whom Marlborough commanded an English Brigade, and Talmash the Coldstream Guards, opposed Humières; and Lorraine took Mentz on the 5th August, 1689. After the contending armies had gone into winter quarters, Pope Innocent the Eleventh died, and was succeeded by Alexander the Eighth, who favoured the European confederacy against Louis.

And now came the great trial for the English Clergy. Those who had still retained the doctrine of passive obedience to James would be put to the proof. On the 1st August, 1689, they must swear allegiance to William and Mary or relinquish their benefices. The High Church Clergy were divided into two parties—Jurors, willing to submit to the King in possession—Non-jurors, still holding to James as King by right. After much discussion, the Bishops, Clergy, and University men, except about four hundred out of more than ten thousand, swore allegiance

to William and Mary. Some few men of note still stood out.

It has already been stated that the Comprehension Bill, to which William was favourable, was shelved. The details are given by Kennett, volume iii., and by Macaulay; but a few particulars may be useful. The Convocation of Clergy was summoned, and a Commission was also issued to certain Bishops and Clergy to examine and report to Convocation. This Commission met in October, 1689, and made a Report to this effect—In the Service substitute lessons from Canonical Scriptures for the Apocrypha—at the Communion let the posture be *sitting* or *kneeling* at the will of the recipient—in Baptism, sponsors and the sign of the Cross used or not according to the wish of the parents—as to wearing or not the surplice, leave it to the Bishops—in the Calendar, retain the great festivals, but omit such as Saint Valentine, Saint Chard, the discovery of the Cross, &c.—as to the Athanasian Creed, an explanation of the condemnatory clauses—remove some objectionable passages from the Service. The Report also suggested some expedients for enabling Presbyterian Ministers to become Church Ministers. The Convocation of Clergy met on the 20th November, 1689, and William sent to them through Lord Nottingham a message exhorting them to consider calmly the Commissioners' report, and expressing his anxiety for the Protestant religion and the Church of England. But it was soon clear that Convocation would not adopt the Report, and after various obstacles, objections, and postponements, Convocation was prorogued, and did not meet again for several years. Thus William's scheme for comprehension was, to use a modern phrase, burked.

On the 20th October, 1689, the Houses of Parliament again met after a short recess. Chief Baron Atkyns was Chairman of the Lords in place of Halifax resigned. The Commons unanimously voted the support of the King in the Irish and French Wars, and an extraordinary supply of two millions. The Bill of Rights, before dropped, was now passed, settling the crown as already stated; but still without providing for the contingency of Mary, William, and Anne all dying without issue. This Act provides that the Sovereign shall in full Parliament, or at his Coronation, repeat and subscribe the declaration against Transubstantiation; and that no person marrying a Papist shall be

capable of reigning, and that subjects are released from allegiance to a Sovereign so marrying. It also took away the power of dispensing with Laws. 1 W. & M. c. 2, Sess. 2. The Coronation Oath had been required by 1 W. & M. c. 6, Sess. 1.

At this time the Rev. George Walker, the glorious defender of Derry, appeared in London, and was everywhere rapturously received. William presented him with an order for five thousand pounds; and ten thousand pounds were distributed amongst the widows and orphans of the brave garrison.

And now Whigs and Tories became more opposed and rancorous than ever. The King again desired a general amnesty and indemnity, but Lords and Commons were resolved on vengeance. Next in the Commons a Bill for restoring their rights to those Corporations which had surrendered their Charters to the Crown during the last two reigns, was brought in. The Whigs attempted to add two Clauses directed especially against the Tories, but were defeated. The Tories in retaliation endeavoured to carry the Bill for Amnesty and Indemnity, which had been lying on the table for three months. They moved that the House should go into Committee on the Bill. The Whigs defeated the motion, and then carried a resolution that a Bill of Pains and Penalties should be engrafted on the Bill of Amnesty and Indemnity. At this crisis William in disgust wished to quit England and leave Mary to govern, in the hope that she might be more acceptable. He summoned his Ministers and announced his intention,—they earnestly remonstrated, and ultimately prevailed, but on the understanding that he should be allowed to command in Ireland personally. The Whigs raised an outcry, but on the 27th January, 1690, the King went down to Westminster, assented to the Supply Bill, thanked the Houses, announced his intended departure for Ireland, and prorogued Parliament, which was soon after dissolved. Writs were issued for a General Election. It soon become evident that in the new Parliament there would be a majority of Tories.

William now made some changes amongst his Ministers. He personally retained the department of Foreign Affairs. There was a new Commission of Admiralty, at the head of which was the Earl of Pembroke, a Tory; but the Earl of Torrington still commanded the Fleet.

Halifax resigned the Privy Seal, Caermarthen continued Lord President, Delamere became Earl of Warrington, Sir John Lowther first Lord of the Treasury, Godolphin retired. The Commissions of Lord Lieutenancy throughout England were revised. The Tories were complaining that their share in government in their Counties bore no reasonable proportion to their number, wealth, and prestige; they now recovered their former position, although the Whigs proclaimed that the King was betrayed, and had placed the Militia under the control of men who upon a favourable opportunity would employ it against himself. But in London was the greatest change. There by a Commission of Lieutenancy, issued after the Revolution of 1688, the Train Bands had been placed under the command of Whigs. Now appeared a new Commission of Lieutenancy framed by Caermarthen and Nottingham, assisted by Bishop Compton, which introduced Tories to power.

A few days after the prorogation, that is, on the 1st February, those Prelates and Clergy who still adhered to James, were required to take the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary. Several Clergy at the last moment complied. Sancroft and some other Bishops still held out, but were not yet treated as having actually forfeited their Sees.

A day of general fast and humiliation was well observed, and the success of William in Ireland prayed for. At this time Whigs and Tories joined in supporting William in Ireland—but a few Jacobites, designing mischief during his absence, assembled in London and opened communication with James and with Louis. The Earl of Shrewsbury (now a secret Jacobite) and Robert Ferguson were their agents for France. On the 20th March, 1690, the new Parliament met, Sir John Trevor was appointed Speaker by the House of Commons. William in his speech recommended the settlement of the revenue and the grant of an amnesty. The Commons fixed the royal revenue. Part was hereditary and not under the control of Parliament. The part under the control of Parliament they estimated at between seven and eight hundred thousand a year. This was called the Civil List, out of which the royal household and certain other officers were to be paid. They also granted to William and Mary for four years certain customs and duties producing about £600,000 a year. But the Civil List was further charged with an annuity

of £30,000 for the Princess Anne under her marriage settlement, and with an additional annuity of £20,000—this addition being made without notice to William and by the intrigues of the Duchess of Marlborough with the Tories. An Act followed, declaring all the laws passed by the late Parliament to be valid laws. At this time the Whigs in both Houses brought in Bills abjuring James, but they came to nothing. Meanwhile William was still humanely resolved upon an amnesty; and finding himself thwarted he adopted his own course. He sent to the House of Lords, by Caermarthen, a parchment signed by himself, being an Act of Grace for Political Offences. This is a peculiar instrument. It originates with the Sovereign, is read only once by each House, and must be accepted or rejected as a whole—no alteration or amendment being permitted. The Lords and Commons stood uncovered whilst the Act of Grace was read, and unanimously assented. From the General Indemnity were excluded the members of the High Court which condemned Charles the First, his unknown executioners, and about thirty agents of James the Second. This Act was passed on the 20th May, 1690. The King then announced his immediate departure for Ireland, and prorogued Parliament until the next winter, unless some exigency should sooner arise. Parliament had previously enacted that whenever William went out of England Mary should administer the government.

For some time William had been quietly, both in England and in Ireland, making preparations and arrangements for the equipment, supply, and pay of his army; and he had now in Ulster 30,000 fighting men. During the same period James in Dublin threw away the opportunity of improving his army, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Avaux. His cavalry was good, his infantry bad, his finances wretched. His only resource was to rob and plunder the Protestants, and to issue new and depreciated coin worse than the preceding issue. Louis sent to him between seven and eight thousand French infantry commanded by Lauzun, an incompetent man. Rosen and Avaux were recalled. Lauzun upon his arrival in Dublin was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Army.

In the month of May, 1690, Schomberg opened his campaign in Ireland. He took Charlemont, the last important place in Ulster possessed by James, and then post-

poned action in Connaught, Leinster, and Munster until his master's arrival.

William was detained in London in preparing the national defences against French invasion and English insurrection, planned by the Jacobites to take effect during his absence. These Jacobites were corresponding with James in Ireland and with his wife in France; and amongst them were the Earl of Clarendon, who had not taken the oath of allegiance; the Earl of Ailesbury, who had; Penn the Quaker; and Richard Graham, Viscount Preston (by James's creation), who had been Secretary of State to James. In Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Worcestershire there were gentlemen bearing commissions from James as Colonels and Captains. But there was one amongst the Jacobites, William Fuller, pretending to serve but actually betraying James. In the spring of 1690, Mary of Modena, James's wife, sent important despatches to London by Fuller and a young man named Crone. Fuller took his packet directly to William at Kensington Palace. Crone was arrested, but he had previously delivered his packet to the conspirators. Shortly afterwards Tempest, another agent of Mary, was arrested with numerous letters to the conspirators upon him. At this juncture, Shrewsbury, Secretary of State, who had in the spring of 1690 secretly offered his services to James, resigned. Amidst all these perplexities William selected nine Privy Councillors as the advisers of his wife—namely, Devonshire, Dorset, Monmouth, and Edward Russell, Whigs; and Caermarthen, Pembroke, Nottingham, Marlborough, and Lowther, Tories. Of these Russell and Marlborough were even then playing a double game between James and William. On the 3rd June, 1690, William sent for Burnet and consigned his wife to his care. "I will go through my work," said he, "or perish—only I cannot help feeling for the poor Queen. If you love me wait on her often, and give her what help you can." He then added the words already given in the Third Chapter. Next day, under such trying circumstances, William, accompanied by Portland, left London for Ireland. On the same day Crone was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey for high treason. Fuller gave evidence against him. Crone was sentenced to death, but saved his life by giving important information. Clarendon and some notorious Jacobites were arrested and sent to the Tower, charged with high

treason. And now a combined invasion and insurrection was hourly expected. The French fleet under the Count of Tourville had left Brest and was sailing along Devonshire and Dorsetshire. Torrington commanding the English fleet, and Evertson commanding under him the Dutch squadron, were on the 26th June, 1690, on the east of the Isle of Wight, the French fleet were on the west down to the Needles. Torrington was evidently avoiding battle. Peremptory orders were sent to him by the Council in London to fight. On the 30th June, Torrington engaged the French off Beachy Head, having sixty ships against eighty. He placed the Dutch in the van and signalled to engage, which Evertson immediately did. The English ships rendered him very little assistance. After many hours hard fighting the Dutch drew off, frightfully shattered. Torrington sailed along the Kentish coast and took refuge in the Thames, where he pulled up all the buoys to render pursuit too hazardous. His conduct was most extraordinary—it must have arisen from cowardice (of which he never was accused), incompetence, spite against the Dutch, or doggedness at being ordered to fight.

The intelligence of this naval disaster, coupled with bad news from the Netherlands, filled London with dismay. The allies had been defeated at Fleurus by Marshal Luxemburg. Marshal Humières with a large force was lying near the Straits of Dover. The English regular troops available did not exceed 10,000. The Jacobites were ready for insurrection. But the idea of French invasion acted electrically upon Englishmen. Patriotism was universally roused, the conflict of political parties ceased, no complaints were heard except against Torrington, who was sent to the Tower. The City undertook to provide £100,000 and 10,000 well-armed citizens, and to raise six regiments of foot, a regiment of horse, and 1,000 dragoons without charge. The same spirit was evinced in every county. The militia was everywhere increased. Indeed, so strong was the demonstration, that the Jacobite gentry in the Provinces destroyed their military commissions granted by James, and concealed their arms. Even the extraordinary and versatile Sunderland came to Whitehall and offered to Mary his sword and fortune—an offer not accepted.

On the fourth day after the bad news from Beachy Head joy came to London—William's first battle in Ireland, the

battle of the Boyne, had been fought and won. On the 14th June, 1690, William had landed at Carrickfergus, and immediately proceeded to Belfast, being met by Schomberg on the road. He appointed Loughbrickland as the rendezvous of his army. Whilst at Belfast he empowered the Collector of Customs to pay £1,200 annually to certain Presbyterians of Down and Antrim as trustees for their brethren, partly as a reward for loyalty and partly as a compensation for losses. This was the origin of the Royal Gift (*regium donum*) which from the time of William until 1869 (the Irish Church Disestablishment Act), was regularly paid.

On the 24th June, William marched southward from Loughbrickland with his whole army, resolved upon immediate battle. James retreated to the Boyne; William advanced to the same point with 36,000 men. On the 1st July the battle of the Boyne was fought. William obtained a complete victory, but two gallant men were killed, Schomberg and George Walker, the defender of Derry, then just created Bishop of that See.

On the 2nd July, 1690, the day after the victory of the Boyne, Drogheda surrendered. On the same day James left Ireland and sailed to France, where he was kindly received by Louis. Tyrconnel and Lauzun collected all their troops and left Dublin. Thereupon the Bishops of Meath and Limerick and the Reverend Doctor King formed themselves into a provisional government and invited William, who advanced to Finglass, two miles from Dublin, where he fixed his head-quarters. On Sunday, the 6th July, he attended service in Saint Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin.

Meanwhile Tourville, after the battle of Beachy Head had been unopposed at sea. Expecting that the Jacobites would immediately join him, he on the 22nd July anchored in the harbour of Torbay, having a fleet of 111 sail, and many long oared galleys peculiarly fitted for landing troops. But he was disappointed in his expectations. In twenty-four hours all Devonshire was armed against him, and marching upon Torbay. Cornwall followed this example. Tourville contented himself with landing 1,700 men and ravaging Teignmouth, an unfortified town. He then re-embarked and put to sea. All England was now roused for defence—party was forgotten—Jacobites were nowhere—the only thought was opposition to France.

Contemporaneously in Ireland William took Clonmel and Kilkenny, and the 21st July, 1690, Waterford and the Fort of Duncannon. He sent to England orders for a fleet and 5,000 troops under Marlborough to come to the south of Ireland. He next with Auverquerque and Ginkell appeared before Limerick, where the Irish army defeated at the Boyne had taken refuge. Tyrconnel and Lauzun considered the place untenable, and with the French troops retired to Galway. Sarsfield and the Irish, 20,000 in number, remained. William besieged the place, but under circumstances hereafter narrated, raised the siege on the 27th August. Tyrconnel and Lauzun went from Galway to France—Tyrconnel having previously appointed for James one Council for civil affairs, and another Council of which Sarsfield was a member, for military affairs and having appointed the Duke of Berwick Commander-in-Chief. William appointed as his Governors in Ireland three Lords Justices—namely, Henry, Viscount Sidney, Thomas Coningsby, and Lord Chancellor Sir Charles Porter, and then left Waterford for England, where he arrived on the 6th September, 1690.

On the 21st September Marlborough reached Cork, which he took, and then Kinsale, and after a very rapid and successful campaign reached England five weeks after leaving Portsmouth.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.—1690.

Affairs in Scotland—Jacobite Plot—Congress at the Hague—Affairs in Flanders—War finished in Ireland.

LET us now look at the contemporaneous events in Scotland. The before mentioned "Club," after having greatly annoyed the Scotch Parliament and impeded public business, began to lose its power. William and the Scotch Parliament were now on good terms, and the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches co-existed. But three members of the Club were still restless and inclined for mischief. Accordingly, Sir James Montgomery, the Earl of Annandale, and Lord Ross proceeded to London, and presented to William a declaration of their demands for the Scotch people. They were dissatisfied with their reception. They found that they had nothing to expect from William for themselves individually. Montgomery, therefore, through the medium of Robert Fergusson, who had now turned Jacobite, and of Neville Payne, a Jacobite agent, offered his services to James. Montgomery, Annandale, and Ross returned to Edinburgh, and there formed an unnatural coalition with their political and religious enemies, Episcopalians and Royal Supremacy men. They promised James restoration to his kingdom, one Jones, otherwise Simpson, being the go-between and betraying both. But they principally relied upon the renewal of civil war in the Highlands. In the spring of 1690, a military officer named Buchan, bearing James's commission as General-in-Chief in Scotland, arrived at Lochaber from Ireland, Cannon becoming second in command: but the Gaelic leaders were unwilling to renew war, and Buchan was soon surprised and defeated by Sir Thomas Livingstone, who held Inverness. His force was broken up. Mackay also

marched unresisted from Perth to Lochaber, and fixed his head-quarters at Inverlochy, where he erected and garrisoned a fortress called Fort William, to control the Camerons, and Macdonalds, amongst whom was Macdonald of Glencoe, always a troublesome person. Colonel Hill was appointed to the command of Fort William. Remember these facts with reference to the future history of Glencoe.

The Scotch Parliament re-assembled in a capricious and unruly condition, and the Club was once more determined on mischief; but the Government obtained on the first division a majority of six, whereupon an immediate change followed--the Club once more lost its power, and many opposition members passed over to the Government. An extraordinary supply of one hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds, to be raised in four years, was granted.

The Scotch Parliament next proceeded to settle Ecclesiastical affairs, the necessity for which was urgent; for the before-mentioned "Claim of Right" declared the authority of Bishops an intolerable nuisance, but had not described the form of Church which was to replace the Episcopal. The greatest confusion therefore existed; there was no supreme authority, no regular system of public worship; every minister performed service in his own way. Melville and Carstairs had obtained from William permission to assent to such Ecclesiastical arrangements as would satisfy the Scotch nation. First the Parliament repealed the Act of Supremacy, next enacted that the Presbyterian Divines, who had been pastors of parishes in the days of the Covenant, and after the Restoration had been ejected for not acknowledging Episcopacy, should be restored—the survivors were sixty in number. The Parliament then defined the National Creed, adopting the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Next the Earl of Sutherland introduced a Bill to settle the Ecclesiastical Constitution of Scotland. It restored the Synodical system. The Church was to be governed by the sixty ejected ministers just restored, with liberty to them to add to their number. Then followed an Act requiring every official in every Scotch University to sign the Confession of Faith and to accept the new form of Church Government--and another Act, both afterwards repealed, respecting Church Patronage. William was not satisfied with this Ecclesiastical Settlement, because it did not distinctly provide perfect toleration for Episcopa-

lians and others, and he afterwards interfered, as will be seen.

Sir James Montgomery, one of the members of the before mentioned "Club," had as far as possible embarrassed these Parliamentary proceedings—but his time for mischief was nearly over. He received important despatches from James —honours, rank, and power were abundantly promised, and there was to be a Council of Five for governing Scotland, of which Council Montgomery, Annandale, and Ross were to be members with peerages. But somehow discontent arose amongst the members of the Club, and their compact was broken. Montgomery, Annandale, and Ross, who had been first Williamites, then Jacobites, and now again had become Williamites, proved traitors to one another, and in hopes of conciliating William, denounced one another. Ross first informed. Annandale was arrested at Bath and brought to London. Montgomery begged mercy of Mary, but got no benefit. William was in Ireland; these men were never brought to trial.

Neville Payne, having been denounced by Annandale, fled to Scotland, where he was taken and put to the torture of boot and thumbscrew—that punishment being then still legal in such a case—but without extracting discovery. It may be here observed that Montgomery, Annandale, Ross, and Payne were henceforth incapacitated from doing any serious mischief. Indeed, Payne was confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained during many years, uncared for by friends or foes.

The first General Assembly of the Church in Scotland was held shortly after William's return from Ireland. He was, as before mentioned, dissatified, and resolved that the dominant Presbyterian Church should not persecute the Episcopalian. According to the Church Constitution he was to appoint a Commissioner to attend the Assembly and to send a letter. He appointed Lord Carmichael, who presented a letter, in which William suggested that violence was not suited to the advancement of true religion, that he did not intend that his authority should subserve the irregular passions of any party; that moderation was enjoined by religion, expected by neighbouring Churches, and recommended by himself. The Assembly, consisting of the before-mentioned sixty restored ministers and their additional associates, returned a respectful answer, assuring

his Majesty that they had suffered too much oppression ever to become oppressors. The final result was that the Presbyterian and Episcopalian Churches have co-existed in Scotland, although the Presbyterian must be considered the National Church.

Whilst these events were passing in England and Scotland, the armies on the Continent went into winter quarters after a campaign not productive of any great result. The Confederation against France had lost one member by the death of the Duke of Lorraine, and had gained one by the adhesion of Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. During the winter there was to be held at the Hague a Congress of all the Princes opposed to France, and William must attend—but, before he started, he must hold a Session of the English Parliament. In October both Houses met at Westminster. Whigs and Tories were favourably disposed, and received the King's Speech with applause. Thanks were unanimously voted to him for his conduct in Ireland, and to the Queen for her management in England during his absence. The supplies were granted without demur. The army for the next year was fixed at 70,000, of which 12,000 were to be horse and dragoons, at the charge, including artillery, of £2,300,000. Eighteen hundred thousand pounds were granted for the Navy. The total sum voted amounted to £4,000,000.

Immediately after the battle off Beachy Head, Torrington had been sent to the Tower. He was now tried by Court Martial at Sheerness, and on the third day was acquitted. He then took his seat in the House of Lords, and went to Court, but was coldly received on both occasions. William refused to see him, and dismissed him from command.

When William was upon the point of starting for the Congress, another Jacobite plot, the Preston plot, the particulars of which will be hereafter related, was discovered. Ashton, Preston, and Elliott, three of the conspirators, were brought to London on the 1st January, 1691, and the next morning the circumstances were communicated to William. On the 5th January William attended Parliament—thanked both Houses for their support, and assured them that he would not grant away any forfeited Irish property until they re-assembled. He alluded to the Preston plot, and requested them to be firm and active during his absence. He then adjourned Parliament, and the next day

started for the Congress at the Hague, but he did not reach the Hague until the 26th January, having been detained by contrary winds. On the same day he attended a sitting of the States-General. Early in February, 1691, the great Congress met. There were present amongst others, William, King of England and Stadtholder of Holland, the recognised head of the Confederation, Frederick Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Prussia; the Elector of Bavaria, the Regent of Wurtemburg, the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt; several sovereign Princes of Brunswick, Saxony, Holstein, and Nassau; the Marquis of Gastanaga, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands; and Ministers extraordinary from the Emperor of Austria, from the Kings of Spain, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, and from the Duke of Savoy. The Pope Alexander, although he did not appear, virtually belonged to this Confederation. William presided. He briefly stated the necessity for union and prompt action. It was arranged what respective contingents the allies should furnish, and that before the summer 220,000 men should be brought into the field. The union against France of Roman Catholic and Protestant Princes enabled William to employ his personal influence with the former for the benefit of their Protestant subjects, and he now obtained from the Duke of Savoy the liberation of the Waldenses from religious persecution. The Congress separated in March. Immediately by a bold and rapid movement Louis, with 100,000 men, commanded by Luxemburg, with whom was the great Engineer Vauban, opened the campaign by a sudden attack on Mons, an important fortress protecting the Spanish Netherlands, but entirely unprepared for an attack, from the remissness of the Spaniards. William collected 50,000 men, but the place capitulated before he could arrive. Thus was a great injury done to the Confederates, to say nothing of its moral effect. The French and Confederate armies then suspended operations for some weeks. Louis went to Versailles and William to London.

When he arrived in London he found the Ministers engaged in unravelling the Preston plot. Also, Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, son of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and cousin to Mary, had been arrested and consigned to the Tower for treasonable practices; but after six months was allowed to go out and reside in the country.

Lord Dartmouth, who had agreed to betray Portsmouth to the French, was committed to the Tower, where he soon afterwards died of apoplexy. Turner, Bishop of Ely, who, though one of the seven signing the Petition to James, was now in communication with him or his agents, was sought for, but escaped (probably was allowed to escape) to France. A warrant was also issued against William Penn, the Quaker, for the like conduct, who escaped to France, where he remained three years. Afterwards he was left unmolested in England, and again expected James to invade England. During the absence of William, and more particularly after the fall of Mons, the Jacobites in London had ostentatiously exhibited themselves, especially in the Park, where Sir John Fenwick (of whom we shall hear again) insulted the Queen. The alleged connection of Bishop Turner with the Preston plot accelerated the actual deposition of the non-juring Prelates hitherto permitted, notwithstanding forfeiture, to reside in the Episcopal palaces. For Turner, in a letter to James, stated that he was acting with his non-juring brethren, and especially with Sancroft. These non-jurors being applied to would not disavow connection with Turner – leniency was therefore no longer possible—Tillotson was made Archbishop of Canterbury in place of Sancroft. It was natural that Bishop Compton should be mortified at being passed over. Sharp was made Archbishop of York in place of Lamplugh, deceased. All the other Sees were judiciously filled up. Sancroft sent to James a list of the ejected clergy, and requested him to name two of them as Bishops, to keep up Apostolic succession. James appointed two non-jurors, Hickes and Wagstaffe, the former recommended by Sancroft, the latter by Lloyd, the ejected Bishop of Norwich. Thus was created a separate Episcopal Church (such as it was), which gradually dwindled away, and of which no trace now remains. Dr. William Sherlock took the oath of allegiance, became Dean of St. Paul's and was re-appointed Master of the Temple.

Meanwhile, as if William was to be allowed no peace, schemes for the restoration of James were again in progress, more formidable than any yet related, inasmuch as they comprised officials in the Army, Navy, Treasury, and Bedchamber; Marlborough, Russell, Shrewsbury and Godolphin, then First Commissioner of the Treasury, were all in traitorous correspondence with James. Marlborough pro-

mised to assist him with the Parliament and the Army, and Russell with the Fleet. More will be said as to this double dealing in subsequent pages.

In May, 1691, William returned to Holland, as the campaign on the Continent was recommencing. In utter ignorance of his treachery, he took Marlborough with him, whom he sent to Flanders to collect the English forces, and to form a camp at Brussels. And now James required Marlborough, in compliance with his secret undertaking, to bring his troops over to the French; but Marlborough excused himself for so doing at that particular time. William himself arrived at head-quarters and assumed the command of the Confederates. The operations in Flanders recommenced in June and terminated in September without any important engagement, Luxemburg and William being both too cautious to fight at a risk. In Catalonia and in Piedmont the French gained some advantages. In the East the Turks, allies of France, were defeated, and so closed the campaign.

Let us now see what has been doing contemporaneously in Ireland.

From October, 1690, until May, 1691, there were no important military events. During that period, Ulster, the greater part of Leinster, and one-third of Munster were held by the English; all Connaught, the greater part of Munster, and some Counties of Leinster by the Irish. William's garrisons were arranged in a north-easterly direction, from the Bay of Castlehaven to Mallow; then easterly to Cashel, thence to Mullingar, thence to Longford, thence to Cavan, thence to Lough Erne, thence to Ballyshannon. The student who wishes to understand this subject, and we write for none other, will here study the Map of Ireland, and trace and mark the positions and the boundary. On the English side of this boundary line or pale there was order and quiet. There were two Lords Justices, Conningsby and Porter, aided by a Privy Council, and Judges, Sheriffs and Magistrates. The Scotch and English Colonists, all Protestants, formed a strong Militia, under officers who held commissions from the Crown; trade was reviving, genuine silver was replacing James's base coin, fugitives were returning from England; in short, prosperity was reappearing. Ginkell commanded the Army as General-in-Chief. The trained bands of Dublin consisted of 2,500

foot, two troops of horse, and two of dragoons, all Protestants. On 5th November there was a banquet at the Castle, at which, with flourish of trumpets, Ulster, King-at-Arms, proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland. But within the Irish boundary line, there was no fixed law, no government, no property, nothing but James's base coin in circulation, prices fearfully high, and traders ruined. The Irish Infantry had so degenerated as to be a mob of undisciplined marauders; practically there was no military authority, although there was nominally a Council of Regency and a Commander of the Army, the Duke of Berwick, then young and inexperienced, and a Council of War. In the Spring, Tyrconnel, who had been in France, was sent back to Ireland—Berwick was recalled to France—and afterwards arrived the French General Saint Ruth as Commander-in-Chief, and a French General named D'Usson with supplies. Saint Ruth immediately prepared for the ensuing campaign. Within the English boundary line the army was ready, well-clothed and equipped, and having a good park of artillery. In May it was collected before Mullingar. Ginkell commanded-in-chief, under whom were three gallant and able men, Talmash, Mackay, and the Marquis of Ruvigny, chief of the French refugees. Ginkell, after capturing the fortress of Ballymore, took Athlone on the 30th June. Saint Ruth, contrary to the advice of Sarsfield and other Irish officers, resolved to give battle, and therefore took up a good position, about thirty miles from Athlone, near the ruined Castle of Aghrim. On the 12th July, Ginkell attacked and defeated him, and in the battle Saint Ruth was killed. After the victory of Aghrim, Ginkell advanced upon Galway, which surrendered upon terms; D'Usson, who with seven regiments had escaped thither from Aghrim, retired to Limerick. On the 11th August Ginkell appeared before Limerick, which in the result surrendered upon terms expressed in two Treaties, one military and the other civil. And so ended the War in Ireland.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Return to England—East India Company—High Treason—Marlborough—Princess Anne—False Conspiracies—Return to Flanders—Battle of La Hogue—State of Confederation—Campaign in Flanders.

As soon as he could leave the Army in Flanders, William returned to England, where he arrived on the 19th October, 1691. On the 22nd he met Parliament. To them he expressed his satisfaction that the war in Ireland was ended, and his confidence that they would support him against France. He asked for a large fleet and 65,000 soldiers. Parliament voted the whole force and ample pecuniary supplies. After a discussion in both Houses respecting the Civil Treaty of Limerick, the Commons considered the question of Trade with the East Indies. Queen Elizabeth had granted a Charter of Incorporation, dated the 31st December, 1599, to certain persons under the title of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." This first East India Company, which was Tory in politics, in process of time became immensely wealthy and powerful at home and abroad, ultimately being possessed of territories, an army and navy in India, and monopolising the whole of the East India trade. James the Second granted to the same Company an additional Charter, confirming and enlarging their former privileges. In and after 1688, certain other merchants formed a new trading Society, which was generally called "The New East India Company." These rival Companies both in and out of Parliament, by petitions, by bribes, and in every possible way tried to oppose, discharter, and ruin each other; but at length, in 1701, united in one body, which continued, with

some modifications, until the reign of Queen Victoria, when their Indian territories, army, and navy were transferred to the Sovereign, who assumed the title of Empress of Hindostan. Thus the *imperium in imperio* ceased. A Bill was introduced into the House of Commons for regulating trials for High Treason; but after a difference between the two Houses, it was allowed to drop.

In this year, 1691, the treachery of Marlborough was more clearly developed.* Having himself made his peace with James, he now prevailed upon the Princess Anne to write to him a penitential letter. He also suggested to James his restoration to the throne by the joint action of Parliament and the English army, without foreign assistance. Marlborough necessarily, to some extent, was obliged to communicate with James's English agents, but for some unknown reason they suspected him, and even revealed to Portland his connection with James. Portland informed William; and on the 9th January, 1692, Mary had an explanation with her sister. The next day Marlborough was dismissed by William from all his appointments, and Anne was told she ought not to retain him and his wife in her establishment. Shortly afterwards Lady Marlborough audaciously accompanied the Princess to the Queen's Drawing Room, and in consequence was commanded to leave the Palace of Whitehall, where Anne was permitted to reside. Rather than part with her favourite, Anne herself left the Palace, and retired to Sion House on the Thames. The Guard of Honour, granted to her whilst residing in a Royal Palace did not follow her to her private residence, and the Foreign Ministers ceased to call upon her. This explanation acquits William and Mary from all blame; but from mistaken delicacy to Anne, they, at the time, gave no explanation, and the contemporary historians, Boyer, Harris, and Rapin, and even Bishop Burnet, are unable satisfactorily to explain the transaction. Kennett is silent. As Lord Macaulay says, "they should either have dissembled their displeasure, or openly declared the true reasons for it. Unfortunately they let everybody see the punishment, and they let scarcely anyone know the provocation."†

About this time William Fuller announced another treasonable plot by persons of rank. It proved to be a lying fiction, and he was sentenced to fine, imprisonment, and the pillory.

* 3 Macaulay, p. 306. † *Ibid.* p. 310, 312*n*.

Soon afterwards a wretch named Young tried to implicate innocent persons in a similar charge, but was detected.

It was now requisite for William to go to the Continent. On the 24th February, 1692, he met the Houses, thanked them for their liberality, announced his intention of rejoining the Confederate Army, and prorogued Parliament. He gave his assent to several Bills, but not at that time to the Bill for settling the salaries of the twelve Judges, because it charged those salaries upon the hereditary royal revenue. Subsequently, as will be seen, he joined in rendering the Judges independent of the Crown. Some changes of officials were now made—Rochester was sworn of the Council; Pembroke became Privy Seal; Charles Lord Cornwallis, a moderate Tory, and Lowther, were made Commissioners of the Admiralty; Sir Edward Seymour and Charles Montague became Commissioners of the Treasury. Sidney was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Nottingham undertook the duties of both Secretaries of State. Sir John Dalrymple, son of Viscount Stair, and, according to Scotch custom, called Master of Stair, became Secretary of State for Scotland, to reside with the King, Melville having resigned and taken another office.

About this time a very ugly affair, not then known in England, occurred in Scotland—the destruction of a portion of the Macdonald Clan—commonly spoken of as "the massacre of Glencoe"—the full particulars of which are hereafter stated. On the 6th March, 1692, William, wholly ignorant of this slaughter, and of a national danger then imminent, sailed for Holland, leaving Mary to govern in his absence. Louis was preparing to invade England in favour of James. Louvois, the French Foreign Minister, always opposed to this invasion as too hazardous, was dead. His son and successor in office, the Marquis of Barbesieux, was then only twenty-four. James pressed his application, and Louis, no longer restrained by Louvois, yielded. The scheme for invasion was prepared. On the coast of Normandy was formed a camp, containing all the Irish regiments in France under Sarsfield, and ten thousand regular French troops, the whole force under Marshal Bellefonds. Eighty ships of the line were to convoy this army to England. Forty-four men-of-war were at Brest under Admiral Tourville, and thirty-five at Toulon under the Count of Estrées. Three hundred transports were to convey the troops and material

of war. James calculated upon assistance in England from Rear-Admiral Carter, who however, was faithful to William; and from Russell, then commanding the Channel fleet, who would fight if compelled. And now England began to understand her danger. She rose to the emergency. Regular troops, militia, and trained bands all appeared as by magic; the manning and equipment of the Navy were hurried forward.

James proceeded to his camp at La Hogue. He issued a declaration, composed by his Prime Minister Melfort, to the English nation; but instead of studying to conciliate, he seemed determined to irritate—no regret for the past, all threat and punishment for the future. The Jacobites unwisely circulated this paper. Mary and her Council wisely reprinted and freely circulated it. The effect was most injurious to James. Even Russell, though playing a double game, said to David Lloyd, a Jacobite agent, "I wish to serve King James, but he takes the wrong way with us—do not think I will let the French triumph over us in our own sea. Understand this—if I meet them, I fight them, aye, though his Majesty himself should be on board." Holland hastened to the assistance of England, although so illused at the battle of Beachy Head. Before the end of April, the combined English and Dutch fleets were ready; and in the second week of May they were riding together at Saint Helens—ninety ships of the line, manned by nearly forty thousand seamen, under Russell. Van Almonde commanded the Dutch contingent.

Up to this time Russell was not suspected by the nation, but there were now unpleasant rumours respecting some of his officers. Mary most judiciously determined to discredit them, and wrote a letter to Russell, to be communicated publicly to the officers of the Fleet. On the 15th May they assembled on the quarter-deck of the *Britannia*, the flagship. Russell read aloud the letter, which stated that the Queen had heard distressing rumours, but disbelieved them, and relied entirely upon her navy. The reply to this letter was a hearty assurance that her Majesty might safely depend upon them.

On the 17th May, Russell put out to sea, having heard that the French fleet was visible from Portland. On the 19th he fought the battle of La Hogue, defeated the French, and rendered the invasion impossible. England was relieved

and jubilant. Mary announced that Greenwich Hospital, then a Royal Palace, should be converted into an asylum for disabled seamen, an announcement which William carried out after her death. This arrangement has recently been altered. The seamen are removed.

Let us see what William has been doing on the Continent whilst these perils were encountered in England under the Government of Mary. On the 6th March, 1692, he arrived at the Hague. There he had not only to plan and prepare for the ensuing campaign, but also to retain together the component parts of the Confederation against France. At this time Sweden and Denmark exhibited symptoms of indifference. The new Pope, Innocent the Twelfth, successor to Alexander the Eighth, was uncertain, and if he left, might withdraw the Roman Catholic powers. Austria was more inclined for war against the Turks than against the French. Charles the Second, King of Spain, was utterly incompetent; so was the Marquis of Gastanaga, his governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The smaller Princes also had their respective grievances, real or imaginary, and made their respective demands. And practically all the Confederates expected England and Holland to do the whole work, and pay the whole expense. However, in various ways, William contrived to keep the Confederation intact. The new Pope remained neutral, which was virtually opposition to France. Gastanaga was recalled, and the Elector of Bavaria appointed in his stead.

William's next struggle was to bring the Confederates early into the field, but that proved impossible. Consequently Louis obtained an important advantage by taking Namur, a very strong fortress situate at the confluence of the Sambre and Meuse. William tried to relieve the place, but Luxemburg was so posted as to baffle all such attempts, and also all attacks, upon himself. The engineer Vauban conducted the siege. The town surrendered in eight days, and the citadel three weeks afterwards. Mons and Namur were both lost from want of promptness in the Spaniards. In July, 1692, William was at Lambeque; Luxemburg, the ablest French General, six miles distant, at Steinkirk; and Marshal Boufflers six miles further. The battle of Steinkirk followed, in which Luxemburg must be considered the victor; but was so shattered as to be unable to pursue his advantage. William returned to Lambeque in unbroken

order and unpursued. The loss was seven thousand on each side in killed and wounded. About a week afterwards the Grandval plot for the murder of William in camp was detected and punished.

The battle of Steinkirk closed the campaign.

CHAPTER X.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Return to England—State of things there—Parliamentary Proceedings—National Debt—Irish Parliament—Scotch Parliament—Return to Flanders.

THE campaign in Flanders having thus closed, William returned to England, where he arrived on the 20th October, 1692, and found general discontent. In the previous July a naval expedition had been prepared against the French seaports, but had been abandoned. French privateers had done fearful damage to our merchant ships, the country was infested by gangs of robbers, the harvest had failed, and the current coin had become so clipped and mutilated as almost to produce stagnation in trade. William began with the robbers, and by vigorous measures soon suppressed them.

On the 4th day of November, 1692, Parliament met. Each House was divided into strongly marked parties, Tories and Whigs, and the Court party and Country party. Moreover, the Lords and Commons were unusually inveterate against each other. The King in his opening speech asked advice and assistance—congratulated them on the victory of La Hogue—regretted that there had not been more success in Flanders—lamented the general distress and the consequent necessity for sacrifices. Both Houses then deliberated on the state of the nation, and some Lords proposed to form a Committee of Lords and Commons to investigate the general management of public affairs, but this plan was negatived. The Commons next resolved themselves into a Grand Committee to consider what advice should be given to the King, which after spending several weeks in various discussions, did nothing.

In the House of Lords strong prejudice was exhibited

against Dutchmen, and especially against Dutch officers and troops, and Marlborough endeavoured to increase this feeling. The Lords requested William not to subject English troops to the command of foreign generals, not to employ foreigners in his magazines, and suggested that the youngest English general should command in preference to the oldest Dutch general. An address, so surely unpalatable, was coldly received by the King. The Bill for regulating trials for High Treason, introduced in the preceding year, was again brought forward, but again came to no result. The House of Commons went into Committee of Supply, that is, for determining the amount of national wants. The estimates, that is, the account of what would be required for expenses, were quickly settled. The Committee of Ways and Means, that is, for arranging the mode and sources by which the expenses were to be provided, fixed the Land Tax for the year 1693 at four shillings in the pound upon the estimated rental, which would produce £2,000,000. Afterwards the per centage varied until 1798, when it was permanently fixed at four shillings in the pound, subject to redemption. Fresh duties were laid on imported goods and on Joint Stock Companies—still the revenue was inadequate for the expenditure, and taxation seemed exhausted. At this crisis a new remedy was adopted. Between 1660 and 1688, private wealth had greatly increased in England, but there was no public and easy mode of securely depositing surplus income. Hence arose hazardous schemes for investment, and especially Joint Stock Companies offering fallacious profits. But it was now remembered that there were instances of nations borrowing money as nations. For example, between 1672 and 1679, France had borrowed £30,000,000 from England, and in the time of De Witt, Holland had borrowed £5,000,000. Why should not England borrow from its own people, as a national debt? Accordingly on the 15th December, 1692, Montague brought before the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, a proposal to borrow £1,000,000. This was approved and the Bill introduced. On the 20th January, 1693, the Bill having passed the Commons, was carried up to the Lords, by whom it was passed without amendment. By this Act certain new duties were imposed on beer and other liquors which duties, when paid, were

to be kept separate, so as to form an especial fund, upon the security of which £1,000,000 was to be raised by providing Life Annuities for the lenders, with survivorship amongst them until the number of annuitants should be reduced to seven—after which time whatever benefit fell in, was to belong to the public. The rate of interest was to be ten per cent. till the year 1700, and after that date seven per cent. Thus commenced what is now called the National Debt.

Next came the question of Parliamentary Reform, that is, a purification of members, not the redistribution of seats. The two suggested alterations were, the exclusion of placemen from the House of Commons, and the limitation of Parliament to three years. The Exclusion Bill passed rapidly through the Commons, but in the Lords was lost by three votes. A few days afterwards, Shrewsbury brought into the Lords a Bill that the then existing Parliament should expire on the 1st January, 1694 (altered by the Commons to the 25th March), and that no future Parliament should sit longer than three years—which, as altered, passed both Houses. But on the 14th March, when the King prorogued Parliament, he refused his assent in the usual quaint but polite form "the King and Queen will consider."

And now was unobservedly taken the first step towards establishing a free Press. Hitherto the Press had been under restriction and censorship. The Licensing Act had been passed in 1685, for eight years, consequently in 1693 was expiring. It was then renewed, but only for two years, consequently we shall hear more in 1695.

Next the condition of Ireland came under consideration. About six months after the surrender of Limerick, William issued a proclamation, declaring the war at an end. Coningsby had been recalled, and Sidney sent over as Lord Lieutenant, with directions to hold a Parliament in Dublin. He issued the needful Writs, and the House of Commons returned was strongly Protestant, and opposed to the Civil Treaty of Limerick. On the 5th November, 1692, the Irish Parliament met in Dublin. In those days the Legislature at Dublin was subject to the Legislature at Westminster. Also by an Act passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh, whilst Poynings was Lord Deputy (hence called Poynings' Act), no Bill not previously approved by the Privy Council

of England could be introduced into either House in Ireland, and every Bill so approved must be adopted without amendment, or rejected entirely. The Irish Session commenced by acknowledging the paramount authority of England. Then was read the English Act requiring the Oath of Supremacy, and the Declaration against Transubstantiation; and the members took the Oath and subscribed the Declaration. Loyal addresses to William followed. Supplies, as liberal as circumstances would allow, were readily voted. The Bill for confirming the Act of Settlement was rejected as too favourable to the Irish Gentry. A Committee of Grievances was appointed, who brought to light various instances of knavery and bribery, and alleged that there had been criminal lenity towards the Irish Papists—but Sidney accused the Parliament of having violated Poynings' law, and terminated the Session. Several members of the Irish Parliament went to London to justify themselves and accuse Sidney. They had long audiences of the Lords and of the Commons. Both the English Houses sent to William addresses on the state of Ireland, naming no particular delinquent, but stating maladministration and unjustifiable lenity to the Irish. William promised that what was wrong should be amended. He shortly recalled Sidney, whom he appointed Master of the Ordnance, and placed the Government of Ireland in Lords Justices, one of whom was Sir Henry Capel, a strong Whig, and much opposed to Papists. William now made some changes in his Ministers. Russell was removed from the command of the Fleet, and appointed to a lucrative place in the Household. Killigrew and Dalavel (both Tories, and by some suspected to be Jacobites), were made Lords of the Admiralty, with the command of the Channel fleet. John Trenchard, an extreme Whig, was made Secretary of State in conjunction with Nottingham. The Great Seal had been four years in Commission. Maynard had resigned. Somers, a Whig, but liked by the Tories, was appointed Lord Keeper. The King then having prorogued Parliament, sailed on the 24th March, 1693, for Holland. He left orders that the Scotch Parliament, after a recess of two years and a half, should re-assemble, and the Duke of Hamilton was appointed Lord High Commissioner. The Master of Stair, as one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, went with William—the other, Johnstone,

was chief manager for the Crown in Edinburgh, and was to correspond regularly with Carstairs, who always attended William. The Scotch Parliament met—received respectfully the King's letter—returned a cordial answer,—and granted an extraordinary aid of £114,000 sterling.

CHAPTER XI.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

James in France—Proposal made to him—His Declaration—Campaign in Flanders—Smyrna Fleet—Conduct of Jacobites—Return of William—Formation of a Cabinet—Proceedings in Parliament—Bank of England—Brest—Fighting in Spain—Plot—Meeting of Parliament—Death of Tillotson—Death of Mary—Death of Luxemburg.

AFTER the battle of La Hogue, James returned to Saint Germains; where, by the bounty of Louis, he kept a gloomy regal Court with his nominal Lord Chancellor and Secretaries of State. Bigotry and Priests ruled supreme. To his Protestant followers, though they had sacrificed home, family, and fortune, he allowed not even Christian burial—they were interred as if they had died as heretics in the Spanish Colony of Puerto Rico. "No surrender on any point" was still his principle.

But the English Jacobites had now become divided into two classes—the Compounders, who wished James recalled on terms, and the Non-Compounders, who wished him recalled without terms. At length Louis, by personal interference, prevailed upon James to make some concession. Early in 1693, although very reluctantly, James received from England Charles, Earl of Middleton, Protestant and Compounder, and appointed him joint Secretary of State with Melfort.

With Middleton, the Compounders, who repudiated Melfort, and even the double-dealers Godolphin, Shrewsbury, Russell, and Marlborough, would co-operate. Through him, the Compounders proposed to James a plan for his restoration: he must resign the Crown in favour of his son, and permit him to be educated a Protestant. If he rejected this plan, then he must at least sign and publish a conciliatory

declaration in the form sent to him. James totally rejected the proposal respecting his son; he long resisted the declaration; but at length, from the influence and recommendation of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and of Louis, he signed it on the 17th April, 1693; it was sealed by his Lord Chancellor.

By this document James promised that he would grant a free pardon to all his subjects who should not oppose him after he should land in England; that, so soon as he was restored, he would call a Parliament; that he would confirm all such laws passed during the usurpation as the Houses should request him to confirm; that he would waive his right to chimney money; that he would protect and defend the Established Church in the enjoyment of all her possessions and privileges; that he would not again violate the Test Act; that he would leave Parliament to define the extent of his dispensing power; and that he would maintain the Act of Settlement in Ireland. The insincerity of this movement is now known by the letter of his Secretary Melfort, written by his order to the Pope, and concluding in these words:—"After all, the object of this declaration is to get back to England; we shall fight the battles of the Catholics with much greater advantage at Whitehall than at Saint Germains." This declaration was printed in London through some of the Jacobite secret presses, and circulated. Afterwards, the Government also printed and published it with a commentary. The declaration produced no effect—the nation had ceased to trust the author.

Shortly afterwards, the Campaign of 1693 commenced in Flanders. William found differences and jealousies amongst the Confederate Princes, which, however he adjusted. Louis made a vast display both by land and sea; in June, he was himself at Namur, threatening either Liege or Brussels; but, suddenly, notwithstanding the most urgent remonstrances of Luxemburg, he sent the Dauphin and Boufflers with part of the army from Namur to join Marshal Lorges in the Palatinate, and himself returned to Paris. Luxemburg, though weakened by this reduction, continued greatly superior in numbers to the Confederates, and on the 18th July, 1693, fought the battle of Landen, elsewhere narrated. He conquered, but was unable to follow up his victory; and, in three weeks, William was again ready for the field, but was unable to save Charleroy.

About the same time occurred the destruction of a fleet of English merchantmen, trading to the Mediterranean—the Smyrna fleet. The French privateers had rendered the sailing of merchant ships, otherwise than under the protection of men-of-war, unsafe. In June, 1693, the combined fleets of England and Holland convoyed 500 merchant ships which sailed from England. The English plan was, that seventy ships-of-the-line and thirty frigates, under the command of Killegrew and Delaval, Lords of the Admiralty, should accompany the Smyrna fleet beyond the point where danger could be expected from the French, then supposed to be lying at Brest; that the greater part of the fighting ships should then return to protect the Channel; and that Rear-Admiral Rooke, with twenty sail of the line, should continue with the merchant ships, to protect them against another French squadron supposed to be at Toulon. But, in fact, the Brest force under Tourville, and the Toulon force under Estrees, had met and combined near the Straits of Gibraltar, ready to destroy the English mercantile fleet. On the 6th June, 1693, Killegrew and Delaval left the Smyrna fleet two hundred miles beyond Cape Ushant and returned to the Channel, notwithstanding the earnest opposition of Rooke, who thought it unsafe to leave him so early. Whether Killegrew and Delaval were acting in collusion with James cannot now be known. From this point Rooke was obliged to convoy with only twenty men-of-war the whole fleet of 500 traders. The result was that he was soon attacked in the Bay of Lagos by the entire combined French fleet, against which he could have no chance. Three Dutch men-of-war were sacrificed; Rooke, with his remaining seventeen and sixty merchantmen, reached Madeira, and thence sailed to Cork. The other merchantmen were scattered; some got to Corunna, Lisbon, and Cadiz; some to Ireland; some were taken; and many were sunk or destroyed; the pecuniary loss to the English merchants was fearful.

The Jacobites availed themselves of this, as of every other national disaster, to endeavour to excite discontent and disorder. By means of their secret presses they printed and circulated sedition and libels. One of these printers, William Anderton, had been hanged for high treason, but the work was not impeded. Mischievous and exciting handbills found their way into the streets, the sailors were

rendered discontented, and the Jacobites invented a new mode of symbolising the return of James.* They formed the initial letters *L* (Louis), *I* (James), *M* (Mary of Modena, his wife), and *P* (Prince of Wales, his son) into the word *limp*, and then, with a glass filled with wine, and held up to the lips as if drinking a health, they *limped* about in their taverns. Thus they ostentatiously toasted their favourites, and success to their cause. Every existing trouble was their opportunity for working mischief. The arrival of William in England from Flanders on the 31st October, 1693, checked their proceedings.

The armies on the continent had gone into winter quarters. On the whole, the campaign had been unfavourable to the Confederates; but France was pecuniarily ruined, and would find difficulty in sustaining another campaign; in fact, Louis had evinced a disposition to settle.

We have before seen that at first William had been compelled by circumstances to combine men of various and even of conflicting politics to act collectively as his Ministers.† The experiment did not answer: as may be supposed, there were frequent disputes, which were even evidenced by the Ministers attacking one another in Parliament.

It had become manifest that the king must have a Cabinet or Ministry homogeneous in composition, and acting in and out of Parliament as one man. Between 1693 and 1696 this alteration was carried out. The Earl of Sunderland was the adviser; he was a man of strange and contradictory character:—to please James he pretended to become Papist; to some extent he betrayed James to William; when James left England, Sunderland went to Holland, where he pretended to return to Protestantism. After the before-mentioned Act of Grace by William, he returned to England. Early in 1693, William sometimes consulted him. He now advised William to form his Cabinet by selecting one of the political parties to the exclusion of the other; and, at this crisis, the Whigs were better organised and fitter for Government than the Tories. The leading men amongst the Whigs were Russell (whose double-dealing with James was not then known), Lord Keeper Somers, Charles Montague, and Thomas Wharton, eldest son of Philip, Lord Wharton. These four were called the Junto, and were always politically true to one another. The most

* Macaulay. † Macaulay deals well with this subject.

influential men amongst the Tories were Harley, Paul, Foley, and Howe. William himself seems to have been unwilling to adopt the exclusive system in forming his Ministry, and to have ultimately yielded only to the force of circumstances.

On the 7th November, 1693, Parliament met; the parties, Whigs and Tories, were strongly opposed to each other throughout the session. William, in his opening speech, stated the necessity for great exertion against France; her superiority of force during the last campaign; the promise of the Confederates to increase their armies, and the duty of England to do the same. The Commons resolved to support the King and to investigate the misadventure in Lagos Bay. Upon this investigation, the Commons decided that there had been treason, but named no particular persons as the traitors. Killegrew and Delaval escaped a resolution of censure only by ten votes. New Commissioners of the Admiralty were appointed, at the head of whom was Russell, who also commanded the Channel fleet. The Secretaryship of State (which was, in fact, to a great extent, the War Department) was resigned by the Earl of Nottingham, and offered to the Earl of Shrewsbury, a Whig, by whom it was declined. In this session arose one of the many before-mentioned conflicts respecting the East India Companies, which resulted in a vote of the Commons that all English subjects had the right to trade with India unless prohibited by Act of Parliament; thereby in effect denying the right to grant exclusive privileges of trading by Royal Charter or Letters Patent.

Three measures discussed in the last session were again brought forward. The Bills for regulating high treason trials and for Triennial Parliaments did not pass. The Bill excluding placemen from Parliament passed both Houses, but the king's consent was refused. Thereupon, Howe (Tory) carried resolutions that the persons who had advised the king to withhold his assent were public enemies, and that the House should carry up a representation to the throne. A representation (a less respectful word than *an address*) was, accordingly drawn up and presented to the king.

The "Life of William III." p. 372), gives the words: - "That the usage in Parliament, in all times, had been, that whatever Bills had been agreed to by both Houses, when

tendered to the throne, obtained the royal assent; and that there were very few instances in former reigns, where such assent had not been given, and those attended with great inconvenience to the crown," etc. The king returned a mild and friendly answer:—"That no prince ever had a higher esteem for the constitution of the English Government than himself, and that he should ever have a great regard to the advice of Parliament; that he was ever persuaded that nothing could so much conduce to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom as an entire confidence between the king and people, and that he should look upon such persons to be his enemies who should advise anything that lessened it;" but he did not withdraw his opposition.

Next day, Harley (Tory) moved that this was no answer, and threatened to carry the measure by tacking the Place Bill to a Money Bill. Wharton and Russell (Whigs) opposed Harley, whose motion, on division, was lost by 229 votes to 88. This incident is constitutionally important as a dangerous collision between King and Commons. No blame, however, can be justly imputed to the King for exercising his prerogative; and the threat of Harley was improper and unconstitutional. A Bill for the Naturalisation of Foreign Protestants was read twice and committed, and then allowed to drop; one principal ground of opposition seems to have been jealousy of the Dutch.

The Commons next proceeded to the question of Supply. The estimates were unusually large. The King, in anticipation of another campaign on the continent, wished to raise the regular army to 94,000 men, and to render the British navy supreme at sea. After much discussion (the Tories generally opposing and the Whigs generally supporting the increase) the Commons voted, for the year 1694, 83,000 soldiers, and £2,500,000 for their expenses; and for the navy, £500,000 for arrears of seamen's pay, and £2,000,000 for expenses. Next came the question of Ways and Means. The Land Tax was renewed at 4s. in the pound; a Poll Tax was imposed; the Hackney Coaches of London were taxed and placed under Commissioners; and one million was raised by a peculiar lottery. Another million was still required: this was obtained by a scheme of Montague, which led to the establishment of the Bank of England, as to which Harris (p. 387) observes:—"The constituting the Bank occasioned the increase of trade and

the circulation of money; and, with all other remote funds that were created had another good effect, engaging all concerned in them to be, on account of their interest, zealous for maintaining the Government, since it was manifest a revolution would sweep all these funds away." But, as the student should clearly understand the history and utility of the Bank of England, we will enter into some detail, principally following Macaulay.

Before the reign of Charles II. there was no easy and public mode of safely capitalising from time to time spare income so as to produce interest thereon; nor was there, in England, what we now call a Banking House. Every merchant and trader had his own private strong chest for money in his own house. When his acceptance or other liability was presented to him, he paid it off, in his own house, in gold and silver coin, which had been lying unproductive in his private store. But this system would manifestly work inconveniently, and cause loss of time and loss of interest upon hoarded metal. A change was gradually introduced, and, before the death of Charles II., a new mode of receiving and paying money was established. A class of agents arose whose particular duty it was to keep the cash of commercial houses; all merchants and traders, in the way of commerce, gave and received drafts or acknowledgments upon paper, which could be presented to and paid by these agents in coin; the receipts and payments being entered to the accounts of their respective customers. This new business naturally devolved upon the London goldsmiths, from their possession of the precious metals, and of large and secure vaults where bullion and other valuables could be stored. Hence, in the goldsmiths' shops, all the commercial payments in coin were made. In looking at the houses in Lombard Street, you may still see traces of what was once there the peculiar business. Thus arose the system of private banking and of private banks—which is now everywhere carried out.

The question naturally followed:—"Why should there not be in England a National Bank?" There were already two well established and flourishing Foreign National Banks, the Bank of Saint George at Genoa, and the Bank of Amsterdam. Accordingly, before the death of Charles II., several plans were proposed; one especially, the Land Bank, supported by John Briscoe and Hugh Chamberlayne,

which proposed the issue of an enormous quantity of paper notes on the security of land. The scheme was based on fallacies, and came to nothing.

In 1691, William Paterson submitted to William's Government a plan for a National Bank, which was favourably entertained by politicians and by merchants; but nothing was done until 1694. The scheme was then adopted by Montague, and by Michael Godfrey, a wealthy London merchant; Montague took charge of the scheme in the Commons, and Godfrey in the city. Having obtained the approval of the Committee of Ways and Means, Montague brought in a Bill purporting to impose a new duty upon tonnage, for the benefit of such persons as should advance money towards carrying on the War. The plan was, that £1,200,000 should be borrowed by the Government at the interest of £8 per £100, then a moderate rate; the subscribers to the loan, or takers of shares were to be incorporated by the style and title of "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England;" the Corporation was to have no exclusive privileges and to be confined, in trading, to bills of exchange, bullion, and forfeited pledges. But the Bill, as originally drawn, was open to the objection that the power over the public purse, then with the Commons, might thereby be transferred to the Bank, and that the King might obtain an unlimited supply from the Bank, irrespective of Parliament. This difficulty was removed by the introduction of a Clause prohibiting the Bank from advancing money to the Crown without the authority of Parliament. The Bill so amended passed the Commons. In the Lords, Nottingham and Rochester in Committee proposed to strike out all the Clauses relating to the Bank, but were defeated by forty-three votes to thirty-one. The Bill was read a third time and passed, and received the Royal Assent. The share books for the Loan were then opened to the public. In ten days, the whole sum of £1,200,000 was subscribed, and the whole sum was paid into the Exchequer before the first instalment was due. A Charter under the Great Seal on the terms prescribed by the Act was issued, and the Bank commenced operations in the House of the Grocers' Company. Thus originated the Bank of England, a mighty institution, which, after the lapse of 180 years, still flourishes, and promises to flourish.

William then prorogued Parliament, warmly thanking the

Commons for their liberality. Montague was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer—Shrewsbury (made a Duke and Knight of the Garter) became Secretary of State. Thus progress was made towards the formation of an uniform Ministry; the two Secretaries of State, the Lord Keeper, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, being all Whigs, and the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal, virtually so. Sir Edward Seymour, Tory, Commissioner of the Treasury, was removed; and John Smith, a Whig, appointed in his place. The only remaining Tories were Caermarthen, now created Duke of Leeds, Lord President; and the Earl of Godolphin, First Lord of the Treasury.

Immediately afterwards, William sailed for Holland to renew military operations, having previously settled the plan for a naval campaign from England. Louis intended to collect his ships in the Mediterranean, and attack, by his troops under Marshal Noailles, Barcelona and Catalonia, and so compel Spain to make a separate peace, and break off from the Confederation. Accordingly, on the 25th April, 1694, Tourville's squadron (fifty-three men-of-war) sailed from Brest, and on the 4th May passed the Straits of Gibraltar. To meet this manœuvre, William ordered Russell, with the greater part of the English and Dutch Fleets, to the Mediterranean, and the Earl of Berkeley, with a squadron, to remain in the British seas. Lieut.-General Tolmash was to embark a strong force on board Berkeley's squadron and destroy Brest during the absence of Tourville. But, by some means, the French obtained information, and Brest was fully garrisoned, and the fortifications so improved by Vauban, as to render it impregnable. The result was, that Tolmash (with whom was the fighting Lord Cutts) was repulsed with severe loss and mortally wounded. The squadron returned to Portsmouth, where Tolmash died, declaring that he had been betrayed. Harris and Kennett consider that publicity defeated this expedition: "It could not but prove unsuccessful, the French having had time to know and provide against it, the design having been the public talk of London some months before it was put into execution." But Marlborough, by letter, privately informed James, and through him Louis, that twelve regiments of infantry and two regiments of marines, under Tolmash, were going to attack Brest; hence the

French were prepared. Whether William (who was in Flanders) suspected Marlborough is not known; but he declined his military services offered after the death of Tolmash. In a letter (1st July, 1694) to Shrewsbury, William attributes Tolmash's misadventure to his "ardent desire to distinguish himself which impelled him to attempt impossibilities." Berkeley's squadron soon sailed again from Portsmouth for the French coast; he injured the pier at Dunkirk, bombarded some of the coast towns, and seriously damaged Dieppe, Havre, and Calais—but these were inglorious achievements.

Meanwhile, the two French squadrons from Brest and Toulon united off the coast of Spain, in the Bay of Rosas; and, by the fleet on sea and the army under the Duke of Noailles on shore, the French were carrying out the plan to drive Spain out of the European Confederacy. The Spanish army, under the Viceroy of Catalonia, had been defeated; several towns had been taken; and Barcelona was in danger. But now Russell (who had been detained by unfavourable winds) in July reached Carthagena with his fleet. The two French squadrons immediately left the coast of Catalonia and took refuge at Toulon. In October, Russell sailed to Cadiz, where he wintered, to be ready to protect the Spanish coast in the spring.

The campaign of 1694 in Flanders, was not important. Luxemburg and William watched each other. The Confederates attempted to break into the French territory, but were frustrated; William took Huy, but there was no decisive battle and no important siege.

About this time, Trenchard, the Whig Secretary of State, upon the information of one Taaffe, and of Lunt, a Jacobite agent, brought certain gentlemen of Cheshire and Lancashire to trial for high treason; the details are given in their proper place. On the 10th November, 1694, William arrived in London from Flanders; on the 12th, both Houses met. In his opening speech he congratulated them on the improved condition of public affairs both by land and sea; the result had, on the whole, been favourable to the Confederates; the French armies had made no progress; the French fleets had not ventured to appear; nevertheless, peace could be obtained only by a vigorous prosecution of the war, which would require large supplies; the Act settling the Customs on the Crown would require renewal.

The Houses adjourned for a week, during which Archbishop Tillotson died suddenly, deeply lamented by William, by Mary, and by the nation. Tenison was appointed his successor.

The Commons having re-assembled, voted £2,400,000 for the army and the same for the navy; and a Land Tax of 4s. in the pound; renewed, for five years, the Act settling the Customs on the Crown; and authorized the Government to borrow two millions and a half. Again were brought in the Place Bill, the High Treason Trial Bill, and the Triennial Parliament Bill. The first was thrown out on the third reading in the Commons; the second, after conference between the Lords and Commons, was dropped; to the third (by which November, 1696, was fixed for the end of the existing Parliament) William, who personally attended, on the 22nd December, unexpectedly gave his consent. It was observed, however, that he seemed confused and unnerved and the cause was soon manifested:—Mary had taken small pox; in a few days she died. The condition of William was pitiable. "During her illness" (we quote Macaulay) "he remained night and day near her bedside. The little couch, on which he slept when in camp, was spread for him in her ante-chamber, but he scarcely lay down on it. The sight of his misery, the Dutch Envoy wrote, was enough to melt the hardest heart; nothing seemed to be left of the man whose serene fortitude had been the wonder of all soldiers on the disastrous day of Landen." Harris (p. 392) says that he "abandoned himself to all the transports and weaknesses of an inconsolable affliction." Mary was calm and composed. "After she had received the sacrament she sank rapidly, and uttered only a few broken words. Twice she tried to take a last farewell of him whom she had loved so truly and so entirely: but she was unable to speak." On the 6th March, 1695, she was buried in the Chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, with every mark of profound respect. Archbishop Tenison preached her funeral sermon; which, and other details, will be found in Kennett, iii., 683, and "Life of William III.," p. 383.

William, in compliance with Mary's wish, devoted Greenwich Hospital as an asylum for seamen—"a monument the most superb ever erected to any sovereign."

The grief in England was national; abroad also he

loss was deeply felt, especially by the Huguenots, the Waldenses, and the Dutch. The States General put on mourning; in France alone, James and Louis excluded all mourning from their courts. A few hours after Mary's death, the French General, Marshal Luxemburg, expired.

CHAPTER XII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

State of William—Proceedings in Parliament—Freedom of the Press—Death of Halifax—Impeachment of Leeds—Lords Justices appointed—Reconciliation with Anne—Scotch Parliament—Glencoe—War in Netherlands—Namur—Newspapers—Return to England—Progress through Counties—New Parliament—Currency—Plot—National Excitement—Orange Association—Prorogation.

FOR one month after Mary's death William was incapacitated for business, public or private; even the death of Marshal Luxemburg, and the military advantage therefrom passed unheeded; and his confidential correspondence with Heinsius was interrupted. Even war itself, almost a ruling passion, ceased to excite. The King wrote to Heinsius—one of the few to whom he unbosomed himself:—"I tell you, in confidence, that I feel myself to be no longer fit for military command; yet I will try to do my duty and I hope that God will strengthen me."

Of course, Parliamentary business must continue, and a most important measure was passed, which in fact completed the freedom of the Press. It was resolved that the Licensing Act—"the Act for preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed pamphlets, and for regulating of printing and printing presses"—which was about to expire, should not be renewed. From that time the general press has been free from censorship and control of the Government, the abuse of this freedom being left to be restrained by the law courts, by action for libel or otherwise.

About one month after Mary, George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, who presented the crown, as before related, died. The fearful system of bribery, corruption, and peculation, existing from the time of Charles II., was now exposed and

punished; and in this exposure the Duke of Leeds was involved. First a colonel was cashiered for embezzling the pay of his soldiers; then Henry Guy, Member of Parliament and Secretary to the Treasury, for receiving a bribe of two hundred guineas, and James Craggs, an army clothier, for refusing to explain his dealings with Colonels, were sent to the Tower; and the Commissioners of hackney coaches were dismissed for defrauding the coachmen. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine the books of the City of London and of the East India Company. They reported that Sir John Trevor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, had received from the City one thousand guineas, for expediting a Bill. For this he was expelled the House. They further reported that the accounts of the East India Company were suspicious; and that in 1693 Sir John Cook, the Governor, Member for Colchester, had expended eighty thousand pounds under the title of "special service." A joint Committee of both Houses was appointed for inquiry, and an Act was rapidly passed indemnifying Cook against consequences if he would make full discovery. In the Lords the Duke of Leeds opposed this Act, and solemnly declared that he had no personal interest. To impede the inquiry, it was circulated in that marvellous way which no one can explain, that Portland and the King himself would be affected. William's assent to the Bill was instantly given. The joint Committee (being twelve Lords and twelve Commons) soon reported that no part of this eighty thousand pounds had been received by the King; that fifty thousand pounds had been offered to Portland, and ten thousand pounds to Nottingham, and by both refused. Grave suspicion was thrown upon the Duke of Leeds, President of the Council, respecting the receipt of five thousand five hundred guineas: the case could not be proved, and Leeds was not convicted, and therefore was not formally dismissed; but thenceforth he was practically out of office.

William must now take the command of the Confederate army in the Netherlands. Mary could no longer act for him in England; and to appoint the Princess Anne regent, would be practically to appoint Marlborough who entirely ruled her, and had been detected in dealing with James. The King, therefore, named seven Lords Justices to govern during his absence, namely:—Archbishop Tenison, Lord

Keeper Somers, and the Earls of Pembroke, Devonshire, Dorset, Shrewsbury, and G odolphin. The Duke of Leeds, though still nominally Lord President, was omitted. Observe —all those Justices, excep Godolphin, were Whigs, so that the restriction of the Cabinet to one class of politicians was now nearly accomplished. Mary had died at peace with Anne, kind messages having passed between them; and now William and Anne were reconciled. Anne, by the advice of Marlborough, wrote to William a respectful and affectionate letter. Somers found William overpowered with grief on his wife's death, and obtained permission to do what he pleased. Anne was received at Kensington, restored to her apartments at Saint James's Palace, where she had a guard of honour, and was visited by Foreign Ministers. Marlborough and his wife again lived with her there, but Marlborough remained excluded from military and civil employments. OBSERVE—Mary being dead, it had now become the policy of Marlborough (whose ruling principle was self-aggrandisement) to support William rather than James, because William would die soon without issue; and if, upon his death, Anne succeeded, Marlborough would virtually govern England. He would also receive more in honours and wealth from Anne, than from James restored.

There was now a plot, to which Charnock, Porter, Parkyns, and others were parties, for the assassination of William. In the spring, the scheme (described as a scheme for seizing and carrying off William) had been communicated to James, but no answer had been received from him. The conspirators resolved to act; but on the 12th May, William, ignorant of the plot, left London for the Netherlands, and so postponed the attack.

On the 9th May, 1695, the Scotch Parliament, after a recess of two years, met in Edinburgh. The Duke of Hamilton having died, John May, Marquis of Tweeddale, a prudent and humane man, was appointed Lord High Commissioner—an office representing the royal authority. The Glencoe affair, after the lapse of three years, was likely to be brought before this Parliament by the Jacobites and by the Presbyterians, from different motives. Previously, in 1693, Mary, having heard unpleasant reports, prevailed upon William to order Hamilton and others to investigate the whole matter. Hamilton died before he had done anything.

His colleagues neglected their duty, and the Parliament did not sit. William, doubtless, amongst other important matters, had forgotten the subject; but now, before he started for the Netherlands, finding the question revived, he signed and sent a commission to Tweeddale and several other Scotch Privy Councillors, authorizing them to make a full inquiry. It was sealed in Edinburgh with the Great Seal of Scotland. The Commissioners afterwards made their report, exonerating the King, but throwing blame upon certain other parties. The subject will hereafter receive fuller detail.

On the 17th July, 1695, the Scotch Parliament rose, after voting supplies as liberal as could be expected.

We must now pass over to the Netherlands, and to the War there. Luxemburg was dead; the Duke of Villeroy and Marshals Catinat and Boufflers (able men, but inferior to Luxemburg) were the principal French Commanders: the Duke of Maine, illegitimate son of Louis by the Marquise de Montespan, a poor, cowardly youth, was present. under the instruction of Villeroy. The Head Quarters of Villeroy were at Tournay; Boufflers, with twelve thousand men guarded the River Sambre: William, commanding the English and Dutch troops, was posted near Ghent; his ally the Elector of Bavaria, with a large force near Brussels; and his allies the Brandenburghers, near Huy.

Early in June, 1695, operations commenced. William besieged and took Namur. This glorious achievement, the details of which are elsewhere given, was the most important event by land. At the same time, England and Holland established their supremacy at sea. During the whole summer, Russell governed the Mediterranean, and kept the French fleet shut up in Toulon harbour; and Berkeley cleared the Channel, commanded the whole line of French coast, bombarded Saint Maloes, Calais, and Dunkirk, and burned Granville. Nevertheless, French privateers sometimes succeeded in plundering our merchant ships sailing without convoy, particularly five belonging to the East India Company.

Whilst William was employed in the Netherlands, the Jacobites in London were organizing an insurrection and invasion. The before-named Charnock, Porter, Goodman, and Parkyns, also Sir John Fenwick, the Earl of Ailesbury, and Sir John Friend, were the leaders. Charnock went over

to France, saw James and the Ministers of Louis, but could make no arrangement; the Jacobites would not stir until ten thousand French troops were landed in England, and the French would not invade until the insurrection had commenced. In fact, France could not then withdraw troops from the Netherlands. For the present, therefore, nothing could be done. And now, in England, regular newspapers appeared. Whilst the Licensing Act existed there was only the *London Gazette*, edited by a clerk in the Secretary of State's office, and containing nothing more than the Secretary chose to publish. There had been periodicals, but nothing deserving the name of a newspaper. After the 3rd May, 1695, when the Licensing Act expired,* gradually appeared *The English Courant*, *The Packet Boat from Holland and Flanders*, *The Pegasus*, *The London Newspaper*, *The Post Boy*, *The Postman*, and others. At first, all newspapers were short, and with little information; by degrees they have attained their present condition. All the earliest supported King William and the Revolution.

In the autumn, the hostile armies in Flanders went into winter quarters. On the 10th October William arrived from the Netherlands at Kensington, where he held a Cabinet Council. Proclamations were issued dissolving Parliament, which, under the Triennial Act, would expire on the 1st November, 1696; and ordering regiments to remove from towns prior to and during the Elections. After visiting Anne (who presented to him her son, the Duke of Gloucester, then six years old) William made a progress through several counties, stopping at the houses of several noblemen, and meeting the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. No doubt his object was to conciliate popularity—and he succeeded. The general Election took place. The result was favourable to the Government and the continuance of the war. To the Parliament, met on the 22nd November, 1695, the king made a speech, in which he said, amongst other things, that he was engaged in the present war by advice of his Parliament; that he doubted not that they would be unanimous for its prosecution; that he must notice the bravery of the English troops this last summer; that without England the ambition of France could not be curbed; that he regretted to ask so many and such large aids; that the funds given had proved insufficient; that the miserable

condition of the French Protestants required consideration; that the coin was in a bad state, the redress of which might prove a further charge to the nation; that there should be some measure for the encouragement and the increase of seamen. Both Houses resolved to support the King against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and to assist him in prosecuting the war in which he was engaged for the safety of England and the liberties of Europe.

At this period, the state of the currency did indeed demand attention. "The ill state of the coin," says Harris, "was the greatest distemper the nation laboured under." The prerogative of coining money, *jus monetæ*, belongs to the crown; but the present emergency required the combined action of the King and Parliament, of Statesmen and Philosophers—of Somers and Montague the Statesmen, and Locke and Newton the Philosophers. The general mischief had been the work of time; the remedy must be speedy.

For many years, in spite of severe laws rigorously carried out—even to death—there had been a practice of paring and clipping the silver pieces of coin; hereby, small quantities of silver were obtained, which, when sufficient, were melted down and sold as silver, in lumps. At length the coin was so mutilated and diminished in value, there was such a difference between what the pieces of money purported to represent and what they would obtain in goods, that trade, commerce, and the daily transactions of life were fearfully impeded. It became absolutely necessary that the inferior coin should be called in and never re-issued, and new money substituted for it: how was this to be done? In 1689 and in 1690 there were Committees of the House of Commons to consider the subject, but no effectual remedy was discovered. The Commons now resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House to consider the state of the nation. After anxious discussions, the House wisely and justly decided—(1) that the money of the kingdom should be re-coined according to the old standard of weight and fineness; (2) that all the new pieces should be milled; (3) that the loss on the clipped pieces should be borne by the public; (4) that a time should be fixed after which no clipped money should pass, except in payment of taxes; (5) that a later time should be fixed after which no clipped money should pass at all. The needful Acts were

passed; the scheme was carried out. The holders of bad money, upon producing it at the Treasury, would have it replaced by good; thus the light coin would be entirely withdrawn from circulation; the nation would bear the loss sustained by this exchange; and that loss would amount to £1,200,0000. The Bank of England advanced this sum upon the security of a new Tax upon the windows of houses (except cottages) according to number; thus arose the Window Tax. The 4th May, 1695, was fixed as the last day on which clipped money would be received in payment of taxes. Then, and afterwards, as fast as the clipped money came into the Treasury, it was melted down and re-coined in new milled pieces of full weight and value. There were furnaces in London, and mints in London and other principal towns, so that the processes of melting and re-coining went on rapidly. For a few months, until the exchange and re-circulation was completely effected, inconvenience existed from the want of ready money, but the inconvenience was patiently endured. At length the mutilated coin totally disappeared, and every one had the new and perfect in its place.

Next the Bill for regulating trials for high treason (7 W. III. c. 3), was again brought in, passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent; the new mode of procedure to commence on and from the 25th March, 1696. The prisoner was to have a copy of the indictment, without the names of the witnesses, five days before trial, paying five shillings for such copy; to be at liberty to defend himself by counsel, and produce witnesses; and not to be convicted except upon the evidence of two witnesses to overt act or acts; also to have a copy of the panel of jurors. We shall presently see how this change in the law operated.

On the 22nd January, 1696, the House of Commons presented to the King an address, praying him to stop a grant of Crown lands, whereby he had conferred on the Duke of Portland an estate in Denbighshire said to be of great value. Portland was willing to abandon the gift and the King yielded; but it may be reasonably doubted whether the Commons had the right to interfere, although the grant was injudicious.

At this crisis was revived the before-mentioned Jacobite Plot for the invasion of England by James, aided by Louis,

and the assassination of William; the invasion being entrusted to the Duke of Berwick, and the assassination to Sir George Barclay. Most of the conspirators having been arrested, the King, on Monday, the 24th February, 1696, went in state to the House of Lords and summoned the Commons. He stated that the scheme for assassination and invasion was imminent, and that he had given the requisite orders, and relied on the support of Parliament. The two Houses instantly voted a joint address expressing thankfulness for his preservation, and imploring him to protect himself. An Act was rapidly passed empowering his Majesty to apprehend and detain suspicious persons (7 & 8 W. III. c. 11); and another Act to continue Parliament in case of his death (7 & 8 W. III. c. 15). It was also resolved by the House of Commons than an association should be formed for the defence of the King and country. A writing was drawn up, whereby the Commons solemnly recognized William as king, and engaged to stand by him and by one another against James and his adherents; to avenge him, if killed, and to support the Royal succession as settled by the Bill of Rights. The House was called over on the following day; the instrument of association, engrossed on parchment, was ready on the table, and was signed by the Members, county by county. This was the second step in the formation of the Orange Association—the first step having been taken at Exeter as before mentioned.

The King's speech, the joint address of the two Houses, the pledge of the Association, and a proclamation for apprehension of the conspirators were published; the whole nation was roused; preparations for defence by sea and land were hurried forward; and, in a few days, all the conspirators were in prison, except Barclay, who escaped to France, where he found an asylum. A special commission was issued for their trial. But this association was not confined to the House of Commons. After having been signed by 420 members it was further signed by eighty-three Peers, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and nearly all the Common Council of London, by 63,000 inhabitants of Westminster, the Tower Hamlets, and Southwark, by the various County Municipal Corporations, by Grand Jurors and Justices of the Peace, and generally and most numerously by all classes in the English Counties, and afterwards even by British subjects in Spain, Italy, New York, and the West Indies.

In many places in England every man wore in his hat a red riband with the legend—"General Association for King William." In short, as Macaulay says, "four-fifths of the nation were combined in one vast club for the defence of the order of succession, with which were inseparably combined the dearest liberties of the English people." Afterwards, the Association was signed by every Member of the Irish House of Commons, except one, who was expelled for refusing (Harris, p. 442). Moreover, an Act was passed in England "for the better security of his Majesty's person and Government" (7 & 8 W. 3, c. 27), whereby (after reciting the words of the pledge), it was, among other things, enacted that the Association should stand, remain, and be good and lawful, to all intents, constructions, and purposes; and that all persons admitted into any office, civil or military, and all future members of the House of Commons should subscribe the Association. After the death of William this Association either ceased or remained quiescent (not being required) until the reign of George the Third, when, about the year 1795, in consequence of the formation of various treasonable societies in England, and of an approaching rebellion in Ireland, the Association revived in its present form, and has ever since continued in the United Kingdom and the Colonies and elsewhere. It professes to cherish the name and memory of William, and declares its objects to be: "By all lawful means to support, maintain, and defend the Sovereign, the Protestant religion in Church and State, the Protestant succession to the throne, and the public safety." With reference to this assassination plot, two medals were cast, the description of which is given by Harris, p. 434.

The state of the House of Commons next excited attention. A change in the class of Members had gradually come. Old established County and Borough men gave place to strangers without land or local *prestige*, through the influence of money. To remedy this, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, which fixed, as the qualification of every Member, an income arising from land, namely five hundred a year for a County Member, and two hundred a year for a Borough Member. This Bill passed the Commons and the Lords, but was strongly opposed by moneyed men out of Parliament. Against it, the City of London and

other principal commercial towns petitioned the King, who ultimately withheld his assent.

An Act was now passed for the establishment of a Land Bank whose business it would be to advance money only on the security of land. In a few weeks the whole scheme failed, and the corporation was never formed. On, or soon after the 27th April, 1696, Parliament was prorogued, and William proceeded to Holland.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Campaign in Flanders Distress of the Armies—Schemes for Raising Money—Assistance from the Bank of England—Recoinage completed—Sir John Fenwick's Case—Parliamentary Proceedings—Alsatia—Ireland and Scotland tranquil—Negotiation for Peace—Treaty of Ryswick—Royal Grants attacked—East India Companies—The Czar Peter.

WE must now change the scene to Holland, where William arrived on the 7th May, 1696. Thence he proceeded to the Confederate Army posted near Ghent, and assumed the command. The French Generals Villeroy and Boufflers were already in the field. But both armies remained inactive, both being paralysed from want of money and provisions. An immense magazine of stores formed at Givet, for the supply of the French army, had been entirely destroyed by the Earl of Athlone (General Ginkell), and Cohorn. William had no money to pay his troops; and the English coin was in a transition state. At this crisis the London goldsmiths, always opponents of the Bank of England, collected its notes and negotiable paper, and demanded full cash payments in the new coin. The Directors refused under such circumstances, but paid as far as possible all honest holders of their notes. To effect this, they made a call of twenty per cent. upon the proprietors, and thus paid such holders fifteen per cent. upon their claims in new coin. At this time Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, under a clause in the Land Bank Act, issued Government negotiable securities called Exchequer Bills, passing from hand to hand, for sums varying from £5 to £100 bearing interest at the rate of threepence a day on every £100, and thus obtained ready money or immediate credit. So arose Exchequer Bills, which still exist. The Land Bank itself,

from which Government expected £2,000,000, entirely collapsed; in fact was never formed, as before mentioned. In one respect its failure was useful, because thereby all rivalry to the Bank of England was removed. And now Portland arrived from Flanders to raise money at all hazards for the army. William having exhausted all his private resources in Holland, was compelled to ask the Lords Justices for assistance. They applied to the Bank of England, which advanced £200,000 cash. Meanwhile, Isaac Newton, afterwards Sir Isaac Newton, the celebrated mathematician, then Warden of the Mint, was hurrying forward the new coinage. Mints were established and at work in various parts of England; yet, as before mentioned, great inconvenience from want of ready money during the summer and autumn of 1696 prevailed amongst all classes.

Meanwhile want of money and food in the armies was working out the natural consequences, the cessation of fighting and the weakening of the Confederacy. Overtures for peace commenced, Caillieres, the French envoy, personally conferred with Dykvelt the Dutch Minister. The Duke of Savoy, having after dissimulation and denials made a separate peace with France, had joined the French marshal Catinat, then in Piedmont, and declared Italy neutral; Austria and Spain had become alarmed and uncertain—Caillieres, at first willing to acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King of England, now withdrew that concession. Amidst these perplexities William returned to England, where he arrived on the 6th October, 1696, only to find other perplexities. The search for Jacobite conspirators was going on. A true Bill had been found by the Grand Jury against Sir John Fenwick (accused of a plot to murder William) on the evidence of Porter and Goodman, two witnesses being requisite under the recent High Treason Trial Act—Fenwick had made an artful confession implicating Marlborough, Godolphin, Russell and Shrewsbury (who doubtless were all faithless), but screening all those immediately concerned in his own particular conspiracy.

On the 20th October Parliament met. William in his opening speech expressed himself to the effect, that there was reason for congratulation; although the funds voted for the war had failed and although the recoinage had produced distress—that the enemy had obtained no advantage abroad and there was no convulsion at home—that the loyalty of

the army and nation under trying circumstances had baffled the disaffected—that overtures for peace had been made, the result of which was uncertain, that a safe and honourable peace could only be obtained by being prepared for war.—The House of Commons passed three Resolutions.—1. That the Commons would support the King against all foreign and domestic enemies and enable him to prosecute the war vigorously.—2. That the standard of money should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination.—3. That all the deficiencies of all Parliamentary funds established since the King's accession should be made good. Within a fortnight two millions and a half were granted for the military, and nearly as much for the naval expenditure of the coming year.—Eighty-seven thousand soldiers and forty thousand seamen were voted.

The effect of this second Resolution as to coin, was immediately perceptible; the new milled money, which had been hoarded, came into circulation, trade and exchanges improved and England became more respected; still £5,000,000 more were required to supply deficiencies. New taxes were created, old taxes were increased—a consolidated fund was formed, and the Bank of England was enlarged by a new subscription. Meanwhile the various mints continued to pour forth the new coin, so that by March, 1697, the want of genuine ready money ceased. Godolphin resigned his office of First Lord of the Treasury, and thus Sunderland's plan of having a ministry composed entirely of one political party (Whigs) was completed. Soon afterwards one of the two witnesses against Fenwick having been conveyed out of England, he could not be convicted at law, although the Grand Jury had found a true Bill against him upon the verbal evidence of two witnesses. Thereupon a Bill of Attainder for high treason was passed, stating the evidence adduced against him and the subsequent withdrawal of one witness and other matters, under which Bill Fenwick was beheaded on the 28th January, 1697. There was strong opposition in Parliament, and earnest debates as to this Bill, and the policy of passing it may reasonably be doubted. It would have been better to allow one guilty man to escape than to establish a dangerous or doubtful precedent. Of Fenwick's actual guilt there can be no moral doubt. The question of Parliamentary Elections was now revived—a Bill for regulating elections resembling the former

one rejected by the King, was passed by the Commons but thrown out by the Lords.

A most beneficial measure followed—the abolition of the monstrous immunities assumed by the inhabitants of certain parts of London known as Whitefriars, or Alsatia and the Savoy. Here were blocks of dirty decayed houses, closely inhabited by the vilest men and women, defying all rules except their own, and guilty of every vice, violence, and crime. The King's authority and the judge's summons were useless, and no sheriff's officer dared to intrude. Kennett says, "There had been a grievance of long standing. Several places in and about London, which in the times of Popery were allowed as sanctuaries to escaping criminals, had, ever since the Reformation, pretended a privilege to protect absconding debtors. One of these, called Whitefriars, was become a notorious nest of broken and desperate men in the very heart of the City, whither they resorted in great numbers; and, to the reproach of Government as well as to the defrauding of the people, defended themselves with force and violence against the law and public authority."

At length, the nuisance having become intolerable, in 1697 an Act (8 and 9 William III., c. 27) was passed "for the more effectual relief of creditors in cases of escapes, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places," the fifteenth section of which names the different localities. These Alsatians and Savoyards protested and threatened resistance, but finding the Government too strong, abandoned their dens. Some went to France, some to Ireland, some to the Colonies, and some to less notorious parts of London.

On the 16th April, 1697, Parliament was prorogued. The King, in his speech, warmly thanked both Houses for the firmness and wisdom which had rescued the nation from unprecedented commercial and financial difficulties. Some new honours were conferred, and some new arrangements made. Somers, Lord Keeper, was made Lord Chancellor, and created Baron Somers of Evesham. Russell was created Earl of Orford and Viscount Barfleur; Lord Wharton continued Comptroller of the Household; his brother, Godwin Wharton, was made Lord of the Admiralty; Montague became First Lord of the Treasury, Godolphin having retired; and the Earl of Dorset having resigned, the Earl of Sunderland was appointed Chamberlain and one of

the Lords Justices. This appointment was unpopular, he being justly distrusted.

Ireland at this time was tranquil—so was Scotland. In the autumn of 1696 the Estates of Scotland met in Edinburgh. A supply of £100,000 sterling was voted, and two Acts for the safety of the Government were passed—one of which required all persons in public trust to sign an association similar to the Orange Association already mentioned in England—and the other provided that the death of the King should not dissolve Parliament. But the most important measure was an Act for the settling of schools, whereby it was ordered that every parish should provide a school and stipend for a schoolmaster—the good effects of which regulation have been ever since experienced.

In April, 1697, William left England for the Continent. The French opened the Campaign in the Netherlands by taking Aeth, and then advanced upon Brussels—which William, by a forced march, saved. Meanwhile, negotiation for a general peace was progressing. Louis was willing to restore to the Princes interested his conquests made during the wars, and to acknowledge William as King of England. At length the allies and Louis named their respective representatives for a Congress. Amongst these were the Earl of Pembroke, and Edward Viscount Villiers, for England; Count Kaunitz, for Austria; Don Francisco Bernardo de Quiros, for Spain; and Harlay, Crecy, and Callieres, for France.

The representatives of England and her confederates were to be placed at the Hague, and those of France at Delft, five miles distant. Half-way between these two places was the village of Ryswick, where was a family mansion of the Princes of Orange. In this building, on the 9th May, 1697, and on subsequent days, all the representatives met to arrange and settle the terms of a general peace. The Swedish Minister, Lilienroth, presided as Mediator. Much time was wasted by frivolous questions of etiquette, until, in the month of June, William, fearing that the delays might be endless, and no treaty effected, took his own course. He authorised Portland to open an independent communication with the French Marshal, Boufflers. On the 28th June, Portland and Boufflers met near Hal, about ten miles from Brussels, in a very unceremonious manner, and before the end of July had arranged terms as between England

and France. In this negociation William required, amongst other things, that France should give no assistance or countenance to James against England, and should not allow him to reside so near to England as Saint Germains. Louis required that a general amnesty should be granted to the Jacobites, and that Mary of Modena should receive a jointure of £50,000 a-year. After discussion and explanations a writing was drawn up whereby (without introducing the name of James) Louis engaged that he would not countenance, in any manner, any attempt to subvert or disturb the existing Government of England. William engaged not to countenance any attempt against the Government of France. Louis withdrew his demand for an indemnity for the Jacobites; James's place of residence and his wife's annuity were omitted; but it was understood that she would receive an annuity as soon as she and her husband retired to Provence or Italy.

After these informal communications between Louis and William, the French representatives, on the 10th July, 1697, formally proposed to the Congress at Ryswick, fair and honourable terms of peace, provided they were accepted by the 21st August. William urged the allies to be reasonable, but Austria was unmanageable. On the 21st August the treaty was not signed. France then raised her demands, and Spain (having, meanwhile, suffered by the capture of Barcelona and Carthagena) became frightened. France insisted upon retaining Strasburg, which she had before offered to restore, and required that the terms already offered should, with this modification, be accepted by the 10th September. William, hampered by the obstinacy and folly of his allies, was obliged, though most reluctantly, to abandon Strasburg; he, therefore, instructed his representatives at the Congress to sign the treaty on the day named. Spain and Holland gave similar instructions. It was agreed that Austria should be included in the Treaty if she came in on or before the 1st November. James, in France, and the Jacobites, in England, were indignant at the recognition of William as King of England by Louis, notwithstanding his promise to the contrary. James appealed to the Roman Catholic Powers, and protested against all Treaties to which William should be a party; but not one of the Powers listened to his remonstrances.

The French Protestants, many of whom were refugees in

England, Germany, and Holland, were naturally disappointed that nothing was done to secure their religious liberty. William tried the point, but Louis replied that, inasmuch as he had not interfered with British subjects, he could not permit interference in dealing with his own subjects. On the 10th September, 1697, the representatives of England, France, Spain, and Holland met at Ryswick, and signed three Treaties, being collectively called the Treaty of Ryswick. Thus peace was made, and William, Prince of Orange, was acknowledged to be King of England.

On the 16th November, William arrived in London, where he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of welcome. The 2nd December was observed throughout England as a day of public thanksgiving. But when these rejoicings were over, William found that he had only exchanged the perturbations of war and diplomacy for the perturbations of Parliament and faction.

On the 3rd December, 1697, Parliament met. The earliest discussion would be respecting a standing army during peace. England had a splendid force of 83,000 men, and France would keep up a peace establishment of 150,000 men; but in the seventeenth century the feeling was very strong that a standing army could not co-exist with national freedom. The subject was not then so well understood as now; nevertheless, there was ingratitude in wishing immediately to throw upon the world the men who had saved England and Holland. The King in his opening speech used these words:—"That war which I entered into by the advice of my people is brought to the end we all proposed, an honourable peace, which I was willing to conclude, not so much to ease myself from trouble or hazard, as to free the kingdom from the burden of an expensive war. I am heartily sorry my subjects will not at first find all that relief from the peace which I could wish and they may expect.

"There is a debt upon account of the fleet and army. The revenues of the Crown have been anticipated by my consent for public uses, so that I am destitute of means to support the civil list.

"Our naval force being increased to near double what it was at my accession, the charge of maintaining it will be proportionately augmented; and it is certainly necessary for the interest and reputation of England to have always a great strength at sea. The circumstances of affairs abroad

are such that I think myself obliged to tell you my opinion that for the present England cannot be safe without a Land Force; and I hope we shall not give those that mean us ill the opportunity of effecting that under the notion of peace, which they did not bring to pass by war."

Some of these words seem to imply a suspicion on the part of the experienced speaker that all was not sound in the peace.

The Commons presented an address assuring his Majesty that they would stand by him in peace as they had in war; and the Ministers hoped to carry a peace establishment of 30,000 troops, but the Commons did not mean this. On the 10th December the King's speech was considered in a Committee of the whole House of Commons. On the 11th December it was resolved, upon the motion of Harley, that the military establishment should be reduced to what it was in 1680. At this crisis Sunderland, who by his frequent changes and treacherous character had disgusted all parties, resigned his appointment of Lord Chamberlain. This would rather assist the Government. On the 8th January, 1698, they tried to rescind the resolution as to the army, but failed.

On the 14th January the Commons voted £350,000 for the army, and granted half pay to disbanded officers until otherwise provided for, and an additional sum for 3,000 marines. The Mutiny Act of 1697 had expired, and was not renewed—so that the army was without law—a dangerous experiment. The Commons then voted 10,000 seamen—and £700,000 a year for the King's income. Out of this it was supposed that the King would pay for the young Duke of Gloucester's establishment, and might perhaps be required to pay £50,000 a year to Mary of Modena. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for twelve months more in the case of Bernardi and some others concerned in the Assassination Plot. Also English subjects were prohibited from holding communication with James or his family; and a time was fixed after which no English subject, who during the war had gone to France or borne arms against England, should remain in England except under a special license; but this law was very mercifully administered, and all who promised to live quietly were allowed to remain. The question of Ways and Means (providing for national expenditure) introduced an awkward discussion.

The long war had created a heavy debt, and the taxes must be heavy. The Land Tax was reduced from 4s. to 3s. in the pound. Then it was suggested that the Royal grants to the King's Dutch friends might be recalled, and the value applied in reduction of the National Debt. By ancient law and practice the King could and did dispose of the Crown lands and domains as he pleased—and yet Acts for their resumption had been passed by Parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There had been no such Act since 1485, after the Battle of Bosworth. None of the gifts or sales of Henry VIII. or Charles II. had ever been attacked. The Long Parliament in Cromwell's time had not raised the question. The Parliament of 1689 had not disputed the royal prerogative.

To interfere now was ungracious and unjustifiable.—The proper remedy (if any were required) would have been, to make a law preventing or limiting royal grants for the future. Nevertheless, on the 7th February, 1698, in the House of Commons leave was asked by an opposition member to bring in a Bill annulling all grants of Crown property made since the Revolution. The Ministers thereupon moved for leave to bring in two similar Bills, one for annulling the grants of Charles II., and the other for annulling those of James II. These latter Bills, if carried, would seriously affect many influential men. The result was, that the three Bills were read together, committed, and then quietly dropped for that time.

Then followed a charge against Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for an improper receipt of £10,000, on which he was acquitted. The remainder of the session was devoted to commercial questions. The Commons had appointed a Committee to inquire into the state of trade, who presented a Report, whereby it appeared that there had long been an extensive contraband trade in Silk, the importation of which was prohibited, between France and England; and in wool, the exportation of which from Ireland was prohibited, between England and Ireland.—It further appeared that the smugglers were sometimes connected with the Jacobites and employed in taking conspirators out of England. Several Frenchmen and one Englishman concerned in the silk contraband trade were proceeded against. They all pleaded guilty—the Frenchmen were fined, the Englishman (having been concerned in the escape of Goodman, the

witness against Fenwick) was fined and imprisoned. As to wool, there was an Act of the English Parliament restricting the exportation of woollen goods from Ireland. William Molyneux, an educated Irish gentleman, had endeavoured to establish in Ireland woollen manufactories, and to export the fabrics to England, but after the appointment of this Committee he abandoned the attempt.

Next, the disputes between the Old and New East India Companies were renewed. Parliament had, in 1694, decided that all Englishmen had the right of trading to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament. Nevertheless, the Old East India Company practically nearly monopolised the trade. Now the conflict was renewed between the Old Company and those who wished to be incorporated as the New Company. Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, wanted £2,000,000 for national purposes. The Old Company offered to advance £700,000 at four per cent., provided the Indian trade was secured to them exclusively. The combined merchants (who may be called the New Company) proposed to raise and advance £2,000,000 at eight per cent. provided the Indian trade was secured to them exclusively. Montague supported the New Company. On the 26th May, 1698, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for settling the trade to the East Indies on those who should subscribed the £2,000,000 upon certain specified terms and limitations. The Old Company petitioned against this, and were told that the trade should be exclusively settled upon them upon the same terms and limitations—but the Old Company declined this offer. The Commons, therefore, on the 25th June, passed the New East India Company or "General Society" Bill (9 and 10 W. III., c. 44), the King having power by letters patent to incorporate the subscribers to the loan by the name of "The General Society, entitled to the advantages given by an Act of Parliament for advancing a sum not exceeding two millions" (sec. 56).

The Lords (though complaining that it should come before them as a money Bill to be accepted or rejected) passed the Bill, which received the Royal assent on the 5th July, 1698, on which day Parliament terminated by effluxion of time. Another Parliament was summoned for the 24th August.

On the 14th July, 1698, the Subscription Books for the General Society were opened in Mercers' Hall, Cheapside ;

and within forty-eight hours the whole loan of £2,000,000 was subscribed for in London alone. During this Session, and on the 4th January, 1698, Whitehall Palace was accidentally burnt down, only the Banqueting House remaining. On the 10th January Peter the First, Czar of Muscovy—a most eccentric, half civilised person—arrived in London. At Amsterdam he had worked in the dockyard to learn ship building, and came to England for the mere purpose of learning whatever might be useful to his own country. He commenced his residence in Norfolk Street, Strand, where he wished to be unknown. William called upon him privately, and Peter returned the visit, being admitted into Kensington House by a back door. He soon removed to Deptford, and was lodged in the house of the celebrated John Evelyn, where he devoted himself to ships and shipping. His general habits were so filthy and also so destructive, that after his departure Evelyn received from the Treasury a considerable sum for damage to his house and grounds. Peter remained only three months in England

CHAPTER XIV.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Portland Ambassador to France—Discontented with what he saw—Conference respecting Spain — Tallard French Ambassador — William goes to Holland followed by Tallard and others—Lords Justices—Marlborough one.

ENGLAND and France being at peace, the Earl of Portland was sent as English Ambassador to Paris, and afterwards Count Tallard was received as French Ambassador in London; but the tone and character of these two royal representatives were henceforth and for ever changed—the English Ambassador was no longer the humble servant and flatterer of the French King, and the French Ambassador was no longer the briber and governor of the English King.

The English Embassy was unusually gorgeous and expensive—and, as William was not generally extravagant, this expenditure must have proceeded from policy rather than the love of show; probably to impress upon the French mind a general idea of the power and wealth of the so-called usurper. The reception and treatment of the English Ambassador was very distinguished. The appointment of Portland excited jealousy amongst English Peers, and was by the Jacobites employed as a theme of invective; but he was preeminently fitted and qualified for the post—experienced in diplomacy, acquainted with circumstances, public and private, unknown to any other Englishman, possessing the entire and undisguised views of his sagacious master as to the King and character of France, enjoying and deserving the unbounded and unhesitating confidence of that master. In short, he was a second William dealing with a Monarch who would have been more than a match for any mere Englishman. All things considered, the choice was admirable.

Portland had in his numerous retinue two remarkable persons—Rapin, the historian, who came over with William in 1688; and Prior, the poet, as Secretary of Legation. Portland, as already said, was in all respects received in the most flattering and distinguished style; but Portland was naturally indignant at finding James with his Court and Council, his Lord Chancellor, his Secretary of State, and all the Insignia of Royalty still at St. Germains, having in discussing the Treaty of Ryswick required from Boufflers that James should remove to some place further from England, and having suggested Rome or Modena, whilst Boufflers mentioned Avignon. There had been no binding agreement, in fact could not be, only an understanding between Boufflers and Portland that there would virtually be a suitable change of residence. Portland was also indignant at meeting at Versailles conspirators, or denounced conspirators, against the life of William—amongst them the Duke of Berwick—and at finding Sir George Barclay and the Priest Harrison, otherwise Johnson, both clearly concerned in the murder plot at Turnham Green, sheltered and employed in France—Harrison being Prior of a Monastery. Portland openly expressed his indignation, and Louis sent Boufflers to soothe him; but Portland demanded a personal interview with Louis. A long private audience thereupon took place, in which Louis said that he would abstain from every just cause of offence to William, but that he could not refuse shelter to James. Portland replied that while James was at St. Germains there must be perpetual plots with his friends in England—that William would allow to James £50,000 a year, to which he had no right, provided he would remove to a greater distance; and if James would relinquish that annuity rather than go to Avignon, he clearly had not abandoned plotting. Louis answered that he never would compel James to depart. Portland rejoined that James must choose between St. Germain's and £50,000 a year; that the understanding at Ryswick was, that England should pay to Mary of Modena what the law would give her—which, in fact, was nothing—and that nothing would be paid to her whilst resident at St. Germains. Portland also complained of the favour shown to assassins, particularly to Berwick, Barclay, and Harrison, but received no satisfaction; and so ended the Conference. Doubtless Louis felt difficulty in meeting the personal appeals of Portland, and must even

have felt the difficulty of escaping the suspicion that himself, as well as Berwick, had at least connived at the scheme for William's assassination ; King James, Barclay, and Harrison entirely knew it. To mention only one item of proof, what could have been the meaning of James's Commission to Barclay, written by James from beginning to end and signed by him, which authorised the bearer "to do from time to time such acts of hostility against the Prince of Orange, and his adherents, *as should most conduce to the service of the King.*"

Harris and Kennett say, as to Portland's embassy, "thus ended this famous embassy, which cost William £80,000 to little purpose, it having been remarked that no Ambassador was ever more honoured or less successful than the Earl of Portland, who could obtain nothing either as to the removal of King James, or in favour of the Protestants in France, against whom the persecution, which in many places was interrupted by the war, began now to rage with redoubled violence." All this augured badly for the sincerity of Louis, or for the permanence of peace.

But the embassy was not so entirely fruitless as this. There was one important subject upon which the French Ministers and Portland consulted—the succession to the Spanish throne. Charles II., King of Spain, the last descendant in the male line of the Emperor Charles V., was in a pitiable state of mental and bodily imbecility, and would shortly die without issue. His possessions in various parts of the globe were immense ; and the only chance of preventing a general European war after his death seemed to be a previous agreement amongst the heirs for the partition of those possessions. The three principal claimants were the Dauphin of France, the Emperor Leopold of Germany, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. So far as mere pedigree was concerned, the Dauphin would have had the best title, as being the heir of Charles II. of Spain ; Louis the XIV. of France having married Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV., and sister of Charles II. of Spain—and her eldest son being the Dauphin of France. But upon her marriage she had, with her husband's consent, renounced for herself and her posterity all right to the Spanish crown.

That renunciation had been an article of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, had been sanctioned by the Pope, and sworn

to by Louis, by his word and honour, by the Canon of the Mass, by the Holy Gospels, and by the Cross of Christ. But afterwards, for the Dauphin it was contended that the Cortes of Spain alone could take from the issue of Maria Theresa their right of succession, and that the Cortes had not sanctioned the renunciation.

Next came Leopold, Emperor of Germany (or Austria). In respect of mere pedigree he would be inferior to the Dauphin. His mother was Mary Anne, daughter of Philip III., and aunt of Charles II. of Spain—consequently Leopold was only cousin to Charles. But Mary Anne had never renounced (like Maria Theresa) for herself or posterity her right to the Spanish crown.

Lastly, came Joseph, a young child, son of the Elector of Bavaria. His mother, Marie Antoinette, was the only child of Leopold by his first wife, the Infanta Margaret of Spain, who was a younger sister of the wife of Louis XIV. Prince Joseph was, therefore, nearer in blood to the King of Spain than his grandfather, the Emperor. The Infanta Margaret had, upon her marriage, renounced her right to the Spanish Crown, but not so formally as her sister. Moreover, afterwards, Philip IV. by his will had declared that upon failure of his issue male, Margaret and her descendants should inherit his Crown. Under these circumstances all Europe was divided into the French, the Austrian (or German), and the Bavarian factions. At Madrid, Charles (so far as he could have any opinion or feeling) preferred Austria and disliked France. His Queen and her adherents were favourable to Austria. Cardinal Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo, supported France. Such was the general state of affairs when Portland arrived at Paris. He continued silent as to Spain until the French ministers opened the subject.

At length in a conference Pomponne and Torcy, by direction of Louis, commenced the discussion. Portland stated that England would oppose the union of the crowns of France and Spain or any increase of French power; and suggested that the electoral Prince of Bavaria was the proper successor to Charles. The French Ministers proposed either the Duke of Anjou or the Duke of Berry, to which Portland would not assent. Soon afterwards Portland returned to England, and was succeeded in the Embassy by the Earl of Jersey. Count Tallard proceeded to England

as French ambassador. He brought full instructions on the Spanish question, to be introduced to William in a private audience. William received him graciously, and invited him to accompany him to the Spring Meeting at Newmarket —at which place, under pretence of seeing the races, much important political and other business was frequently transacted. At Newmarket, and afterwards at Kensington, the negotiation between William and Tallard respecting Spain progressed—William expressed his wish to place the Electoral Prince of Bavaria on the Spanish throne—but still, though reluctantly, England and Holland might consent to the Son of the Dauphin reigning in Spain and Spanish America, upon condition that the Milanese and the two Sicilies should be assigned to the Archduke Charles—that the Spanish Netherlands should be given to the Elector of Bavaria—that Louis should resign some fortified towns in Artois to strengthen the frontier of the United Provinces—and that some important places in the Mediterranean Sea, and in the Gulf of Mexico, should be made over to England and Holland for security of their trade. Louis declared these terms inadmissible. William still insisted upon them, on behalf of England and Holland, if a Bourbon was to be King of Spain. At length Louis yielded the point that the Elector should be King of Spain, provided he (Louis) received some portion of the Spanish possessions —he required to have the kingdom of Navarre, and the Duchy of Luxemburg, which (if yielded) would practically have given Louis the command of Spain and Holland. William rejected this proposal. Finally it was arranged that the discussions should be continued in Holland, whither William was anxious to go, and that Tallard, Portland and Heinsius should all join William for that purpose at Loo.

As before observed, except his Dutch friends who came over with him, William had no trustworthy associates. Hitherto these, his companions, including Zulestein, Auverquerque, Ginkell, and Bentinck, had lived harmoniously with one another, and with their master. Upon Bentinck the King had lavished titles and wealth to an excess. He subsequently yielded to another weakness, he gradually took into favour Arnold Van Keppel (created Earl of Albemarle, and Master of the Robes) who had originally come

over with him in his household. He was brave, loyal, and trustworthy, but had not rendered such services, military and civil, as Bentinck, or such as to deserve an earldom. Portland became jealous and sulky, feeling himself displaced, although William continued to consult and employ him in all important matters. Hence disputes arose in the royal household, and Portland often treated the King even rudely—the King on the contrary endeavoured in every way to propitiate. The result was, on the side of Portland, although he continued to serve faithfully and ably, a degree of coldness, which was never entirely removed until he leant over his dying Master to receive his last words. This coldness in Portland was now, when his advice was required on the Spanish question, peculiarly unfortunate. He would have preferred to be absent from Loo, but resolved to do his duty, and went.

On the 20th July, 1698, William left England, having previously appointed to govern in his absence, nine Lords Justices (namely), the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Somers, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earls of Pembroke, Dorset, Marlborough, Romney, and Orford, and Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Not only did William at this time restore Marlborough to his military rank, and to the Privy Council, and appoint him one of the nine Regents, but he also made him Governor of the Duke of Gloucester (probably at the request of his mother) then not nine years old. After all the previous occurrences, this conduct seems strange and inconsistent. It would naturally be said that either the man had been previously unjustly treated, or ought now to continue unemployed. Probably William thus reconciled it to himself, "this man has been unfaithful and treacherous—but his principle of action remains the same, namely, his own aggrandisement—and it is now his interest to support me without wavering, and bring to the throne Anne rather than James, whereby he will become virtually King; he has extraordinary talents, both in war and peace; I may now safely to myself, and to the country, employ his services which will be eminently useful." It cannot be supposed that William acted from any respect or regard for the man himself. The household of the young Duke was formed, with an income of fifteen thousand a year, and Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was appointed his Preceptor.

Soon afterwards the general election for a new Parliament commenced. Three party cries were raised—"no standing army, no crown grants, no Dutchmen." Ultimately, when the returns were completed, Government could not with any certainty rely upon a majority.

CHAPTER XV.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

William at Loo - Negotiations as to Spain continued—First Partition Treaty—Reduction of Army — Death of Elector of Bavaria — Second Treaty - Anger of Spain—Isthmus of Darien Scheme — Kidd's Piracies.

WE must now transport ourselves to Holland. William arrived at Loo on the 22nd July, 1698, where he was joined by Tallard, Portland, and Heinsius. These four continued the deliberations respecting Spain, which resulted in the following arrangement—France to waive all claims to Spain and the Indies, and to support the claim of the Elector of Bavaria—The Dauphin of France to have Guipuscoa, Naples, and Sicily—The Archduke Charles of Austria to have the Milanese—The Electoral Prince of Bavaria to have Spain and the Indies, his father acting as Regent during his minority. This is generally called the First Partition Treaty. William, being (as before observed) his own Minister for foreign affairs, had thus far acted alone; but now required for the writings the assistance of a State Secretary, and the Great Seal of England. Portland, therefore, by his direction wrote to Vernon, Secretary of State, and William himself wrote to Lord Chancellor Somers, whom he desired to send a written instrument under the Great Seal, appointing plenipotentiary Commissioners, but leaving their names in blank. He enjoined strict secrecy and expedition. Somers, Shrewsbury, Orford, Montague, and Vernon replied to the effect, that they approved the general principles of the Treaty, and they forwarded to William the required writings in Vernon's own handwriting. On the 4th September, 1698, this First Partition Treaty was signed, on the part of England by Sir Joseph Williamson, Minister at the Hague, and by Portland—on the part of

Holland by the Grand Pensionary and seven other Commissioners—and on the part of France by Tallard. Louis and William wished the Treaty kept secret; but Quiros the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague, having discovered its general purport, communicated with Madrid. The Spaniards were indignant, especially at the dismemberment and division of the royal possessions; and the King of Spain by the advice of his Ministers proceeded to appoint as his successor to his entire Dominions his Nephew, Francis Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria. The right to make this Partition Treaty was at the time, and may even now be disputed; but the true ground for supporting it would seem to be, that foreign nations are justified in making arrangements to prevent a general war. That such prevention was the object of William, and of Heinsius, there can be no doubt.

William now returned from Holland to London. The new Parliament was opened by him on the 6th December, 1698. And now came a dangerous crisis in William's reign. He doubtless feared that notwithstanding the Partition Treaty, France would, or might seize Spain proper if England were disarmed; and therefore desired to maintain an efficient army and navy. Accordingly in his opening speech he used these words—"Two things seem principally to require your attention. The one is, what strength ought to be maintained at sea, and what force kept up on land for this year. All I shall observe to you on this head is, that the flourishing of trade, the supporting of credit, and the quiet of people's minds at home, will depend upon the opinion they have of their security; and to preserve to England the weight and influence it has at present on the councils and affairs abroad, it will be requisite Europe should see you will not be wanting to yourselves. The second thing is this, &c." William considered 20,000 troops the smallest number requisite. His Ministers told him that it would be impossible with the new House of Commons to obtain so many: but he would not yield. The Commons after discussion voted, "that all the land forces in England in English pay, exceeding 7,000 men (and those consisting of his Majesty's natural born subjects), be forthwith disbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland exceeding 12,000 men (and those natural born subjects to be maintained by that kingdom) be likewise disbanded." A Bill was brought

in and rapidly passed, carrying out this vote. The effect would be, that not only England would be unsafe in the event of a sudden war, but also that William must part with his blue Dutch Guards, splendid and tried troops, who had served in Flanders and at the Boyne, and with the gallant regiments of French refugees who had served in Ireland. He was so disgusted as to resolve to resign the crown, and had actually prepared his farewell speech to Parliament. He even communicated his intention to Marlborough, which proved that he would abdicate in favour of Anne; and to his confidential friend Heinsius he thus wrote—"I foresee that I shall be driven to take an extreme course, and that I shall see you again in Holland sooner than I had imagined." However, principally from the earnest remonstrances of Somers, he abandoned this design; and on the 1st February, 1699, went down to Parliament, and gave his assent to the Army Disbanding Bill, but thus expressed his feelings—"I am come to pass the Bill for disbanding the Army as soon as I understood it was ready for me. Though there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of troops, and though I may think myself unkindly used that those Guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged should be removed from me, yet it is my fixed opinion that nothing can be so fatal as that any jealousy should arise between me and my people. I have thus plainly told you the only reason I have to pass this Bill; and I am now obliged in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgment, that the Nation is left too much exposed." William then arranged that the 7,000 should be proportioned between Cavalry and Infantry—4,000 Cavalry, and 3,000 Infantry for guards and garrisons. Still he could not forget the many gallant services of his Dutch Guards, especially their conduct at the Boyne; and he made one more attempt to retain them. Accordingly (the Electoral Prince of Bavaria having at this juncture died, whereby the chance of war upon the death of the Spanish King was increased) William sent by Lord Ranelagh a written message to the House of Lords, "that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the Guards who came with him to England, and that he intended to send them away immediately, unless out of consideration to him

the House were disposed to find means for continuing them longer in his service, which he would take very kindly." The Lords resolved by fifty-four votes to thirty-eight, that they would concur in any plan for retaining the services of the Dutch brigade; but the Commons would not alter their previous vote. In his original manifesto before sailing for England, William had said that "his troops should be sent back as soon as the Nation was delivered from tyranny;" the bargain was now inopportunely and ungraciously enforced. The Dutch troops returned to Holland.

The Commons voted 15,000 men for the Navy, to consist of seamen only, thus excluding Marines, and £1,484,000 for maintenance of the Fleet, disbanding the Army and other contingencies, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon all land, pensions, offices, and personal estate. Shortly afterwards Parliament was prorogued until the 1st June.

The signs of the times soon justified William's reluctance to reduce the Army. The death of the young Duke of Bavaria (quite unexpected), the consequent disruption of the first Partition Treaty, and the anger of Spain, who might perhaps now withdraw from the Confederation, revived the chance of a general war with diminished power to the Allies. In England the Jacobites and Jesuits re-exhibited their inclination to disturb the internal peace; Harris says (p. 472), "one consequence of disbanding the Army was, a visible concourse of Jacobites and Papists about town and court in so bold and insolent a manner that the Commons took notice of it, and on that occasion presented an address representing their insolence, their keeping horses and arms contrary to law, their frequenting all public places near the Parliament and royal palaces, their plots and conspiracies against the King and Government, the attempts of Priests and Jesuits on dying persons, &c." The Commons requested the King to issue a Proclamation for removing all Papists and Jacobites from London, and to enforce the laws against them; and a Proclamation was issued accordingly. The Commons next considered the condition of the Navy, and not unreasonably represented to the King that the two offices of First Lord of the Admiralty and Treasurer of the Navy, ought not to be held together. Thereupon Russell (Lord Orford) who held both, resigned both. The resumption of Crown Lands, before agitated, was now reconsidered; and

a clause was added by the Commons to the Land Tax Bill, by which seven commissioners, to be named by the House, were empowered to take an account of the estates forfeited in Ireland during the late troubles. The Land Tax Bill with this addition was sent to the Lords, who justly complained of the mode of treating such an important measure, which prevented them from properly dealing with the question of resumption; they must accept or reject the whole Bill, and to reject it would produce national difficulty. The King considered one of his prerogatives, that of granting forfeited lands, attacked; nevertheless he did not withhold his assent from the Bill. The Supplies had now been voted, and on 4th May, 1699, Parliament was prorogued. The King in his speech neither thanked nor praised; expressed a hope that when they met again they would effectually provide for the public safety, and that no mischief might happen in the meantime. In June, 1699, he went to Loo, having first made some changes. The Earl of Orford was succeeded as First Lord of the Admiralty by the Earl of Bridgewater, and by Sir Thomas Littleton, as Treasurer of the Navy. The Duke of Leeds resigned and was succeeded by the Earl of Pembroke, as Lord President of the Council. Pembroke was succeeded by Viscount Lonsdale (formerly Sir John Lowther), a moderate Tory, as Lord Privy Seal. Turnbull resigned, and was replaced by the Earl of Jersey, a moderate Tory, as Secretary of State. The Earl of Manchester went to Paris as Ambassador in the place of Jersey. Observe, there was now once more a combination of Whigs and Tories, which involved the risk of divided councils in the Cabinet. Portland also, much to William's annoyance, formally relinquished his office in the royal household, in consequence of the constant jealousies and squabbles before alluded to between himself and Albemarle. How much the King was grieved may be seen by his letters; "I hope" (said he in a letter) "that you will oblige me in one thing, keep your key of office. I shall not consider you as bound to any attendance, but I beg you to let me see you as often as possible, that will be a great mitigation of the distress which you have caused me." Portland had been the friend of his youth, had at the risk of life nursed him through a fearful attack of small pox, shared his anxieties, and his deepest councils, been his comrade in many a hard fought battlefield true, faithful, and honest, even to rudeness. Sad

indeed must have been the disturbance of such a friendship.

After the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, Louis, through Tallard, opened a fresh negotiation for a second Partition Treaty respecting Spain. William suggested that the Prince's father should take his place. To that Louis objected, but would consent that the younger Archduke of Austria should be king of Spain and the Indies, provided the Dauphin of France had the Milanese in addition to his former assigned portion. William was willing to treat upon this basis, and there was a second Partition Treaty executed by and between France and England and Holland, on the 15th March, 1700, the words of which are given by Kennett, iii. 786; but the consent of the Emperor was requisite, and he delayed the settlement by vacillation and indecision. Meanwhile at Madrid there were two factions—the one for Austria, the other for France. Spain was especially indignant with England for her interference; and the Marquis of Canales, Spanish Ambassador in London, delivered to the English Secretary of State a most abusive and threatening letter, which was forwarded to William, then at Loo. He immediately ordered Canales to leave England, and recalled the English Ambassador from Madrid. It was natural that Spain should be displeased with France and England respecting the Partition; but her especial displeasure to England arose from an unfortunate transaction in Scotland, for which neither William nor his government was fairly responsible. To understand the matter, we must go back some few years, and enter into some episodical detail.

In 1695, William Paterson, the originator of the Bank of England, proposed a Joint Stock Company for trading with India by way of the Atlantic and Pacific, using the Isthmus of Darien as the means of communication and transit of goods between the two oceans. On the Isthmus (which from personal knowledge he described as delightful in climate and unappropriated by any European nation) he proposed to build a fort and houses, and to plant a Colony, which would certainly command the trade of the world. Paterson seems to have been an enthusiastic, not a deliberate swindler. He first tried England, then the Hanse Towns, and then Germany, but could obtain no assistance for his scheme. "He next, in company of Fletcher of Saltoun, tried Scotland, and there succeeded. Tweeddale, an old acquainance of Fletcher,

was then Lord High Commissioner. He brought the plan before the Scotch Parliament, who unanimously adopted it. On the 26th June, 1696, the Lord High Commissioner gave the royal assent to an act of the Scotch Parliament by touching it with the sceptre, whereby persons therein specified were formed into a company, to be called "The Company of Scotland, trading to Africa and the Indies;" at least one half of the capital was to be held by Scotchmen resident in Scotland—and entire monopoly of the trade with Asia, Africa, and America for thirty-one years was granted to the Company, who were empowered to take possession of unoccupied territories in any part of Asia, Africa, or America, and there to build towns and forts, to impose taxes and raise troops, to wage war and conclude treaties; and the King was to guarantee that if any foreign power should injure the company, he would obtain reparation at the public cost; and the whole substance of the Act was to be set out in Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Scotland. These letters Patent were accordingly drawn up and sealed, the subscription rooms were opened, the Shares being fixed at one hundred pounds sterling each. The Scotch people adopted the scheme energetically. Two hundred and twenty thousand pounds were rapidly subscribed for, and paid up; the number of shareholders was fourteen hundred, amongst whom were the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensbury, Lord Belhaven, Viscount Stair, and the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth. When this Scotch Act was passed, William was before Namur, and wholly ignorant of these proceedings. The matter was afterwards brought before the English Parliament by Rochester. The Lords and Commons represented to the King the injustice of guaranteeing England to support an expedition which, if successful, would be fatal to her commerce, and might occasion war. William immediately dismissed the Lord High Commissioner, and Secretary Johnstone. Paterson, then in London, was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, and threatened with impeachment: but these proceedings were disregarded in Scotland, where money continued to be paid to the Company, and ships were obtained from Amsterdam and Hamburg at the cost of fifty thousand pounds. Twelve hundred seamen and colonists, amongst whom were Paterson and his wife, embarked at Leith, and sailed on the 25th July, 1698. On the 1st November they arrived at the Isthmus of

Darien. The commanders landed, took possession, and named the Isthmus Caledonia, and resolved there to build the city of New Edinburgh. They erected a fort and some huts, and framed their system of government. The native savage Princes behaved in a friendly manner. Soon however the new settlers found difficulties. The Spaniards considering their territory invaded, the French West Indies, and even the English West Indies published hostile proclamations. The Spaniards seized and confiscated one of their ships, their provisions were bad, sickness and fearful mortality prevailed, and at length the survivors embarked in three ships and sailed for Scotland. Three hundred and ninety of these survivors died during the voyage home. In short, the whole colony was broken up and extinct. Meanwhile, in ignorance of this failure, a second expedition sailed from Scotland for the Isthmus, where it arrived four months after the first settlers had departed. They built a new fort and eighty cabins, but their provisions were scanty, sickness broke out, and the mortality was great, and to complete their misery, eleven Spanish ships anchored off the Isthmus, whilst an irregular Spanish army marched against them from Panama. After negotiating as best they could, the Scotch evacuated Darien on the 11th April, 1699, having lost by sickness three hundred men, and of the survivors very few reached home. So miserably ended the Darien experiment. This was the transaction, which at the crisis occasioned by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, exasperated Spain against William, although unjustly. Judging from appearances of the times, it seems by no means impossible that the scheme may be successfully retried under better auspices.

We must also go back a few years to relate another transaction. During the late war there had been great complaints of extensive piracy, particularly in the Indian Ocean. In 1695, the Earl of Bellamont was appointed Governor of New York and Massachusets. He found at New York an old and experienced sailor, William Kidd, well acquainted with the Indian Seas, and with the haunts of the pirates. Kidd would undertake to put down the pirates if placed in command of a ship of thirty or forty guns; and the Colonists recommended his employment. Bellamont suggested this plan to William, who referred it to the Admiralty, but they created difficulties. Bellamont

then wrote to friends in England, urging them to raise six thousand pounds and fit out a privateer. This plan was adopted; Shrewsbury, Romney, Orford, and Somers contributed. A ship, called the *Adventure Galley*, was fitted out in the Port of London, and Kidd was appointed commander. He was furnished with the usual letters of Marque, and also with a commission under the Great Seal to seize pirates, and take them to some place where they might be tried according to law. The goods taken from the pirates, so far as they belonged to the King, were granted to the parties who fitted out the ship; the King reserving only one-tenth part of the gains, which was to be paid into the Treasury; the claims of merchants to recover property of which they had been robbed remained unaffected. Kidd could not obtain his full crew in London, but completed it in New York to the number of one hundred and fifty men, and in July, 1697, reached Madagascar. He soon abandoned the protection of merchant ships, and himself became pirate, whereby he made enormous gains. In August, 1698, these things became known in London. Instructions were sent out to our colonies to watch for, and secure Kidd. He burned his ship, dismissed his men, and returned to New York, intending to live upon his gains: Bellamont arrested and sent him to England, where he was tried and executed for piracy. The opposition party in the House of Commons afterwards made the raising funds for fitting out the *Adventure Galley*, a pretext for attacking Lord Chancellor Somers, alleging that he had always known the real character of Kidd, and had employed the Great Seal to sanction a piratical expedition, part of the profits of which he would receive. The attack failed.

To return from this digression. The reassembling of Parliament approached; Montague resigned his office, but took the auditorship of the Exchequer; Tankerville was appointed First Lord of the Treasury.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Meeting of Parliament—Attack on Burnet and Somers—Irish forfeitures—Commissioners' Reports—Resumption Bill.

On the 6th December, 1699, both Houses met. The King in his opening speech recommended further provision for the safety of England by sea and land, and for payment of the debts contracted during the war, promised to encourage trade, the just rights and liberties of the people, the established religion, and the due administration of justice; and concluded in these words, "Let us then, since our aims are for the general good, act with due confidence in one another, which will not fail to make me a happy King, and you a great and flourishing people." These harmless words were distorted for evil. The Commons were ill-tempered, and resolved to attack the Government, and especially Lord Chancellor Somers. Accordingly they voted an address to the King, "that they esteemed it the greatest misfortune that, after having so amply provided for the security of his Majesty and his Government, by sea and land, any jealousy had been raised of their duty and affection to him; that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between him and his Parliament, that he would be pleased to show marks of his high displeasure towards all such who had, or should presume to misrepresent their proceedings to his Majesty." William temperately replied "that, as the happiness of an English King depended upon an entire good correspondence between him and his Parliament, no person had ever yet dared to attempt to misrepresent to him the proceedings of either House, and that, had he found any such, they should have immediately felt the highest marks of his displeasure." So

was arrested a quarrel. Next, a covert attack was made upon the Lord Chancellor with reference to Kidd's matter, before narrated. There was a motion in the Commons, "that the Letters Patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others of Pirates' goods were dishonourable to the King, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm, invasive of property, and destructive of commerce"; but the motion was rejected by a large majority. Next, Bishop Burnet was attacked. An address was moved that the King should remove him from the office of preceptor to the young Duke of Gloucester, but was not carried. On a former occasion in 1693, shortly after he had been appointed Bishop of Salisbury, Burnet had been attacked. He had printed and circulated amongst the Clergy of his diocese a Pastoral Letter, exhorting them to take the oaths. Howe, out of spite, brought this letter before the House of Commons, alleging that the author in one passage represented William and Mary as conquerors. It was a ridiculous attack, but succeeded. The House of Commons by a majority of only seven, ordered the letter to be publicly burnt in Palace Yard by the common executioner. The Lord Chancellor Somers was again assailed. William had granted to him some Crown Land at Reigate, producing an annual rental of sixteen hundred pounds. In our times there is a retiring pension fixed by act of Parliament for the Lord Chancellor; but then there was none, and he was generally provided for out of the royal estates. A fine distinction was now suggested between such a grant in time of war and time of peace. It was moved, "that any Minister, who had been concerned in passing a grant for his own benefit whilst the nation was under the heavy taxes of the late war, had violated his trust;" but the motion was negatived.

Then followed proceedings which endangered the constitution and the kingdom by producing a conflict between the Commons, Lords, and King. Discussions had occurred (as before narrated) respecting grants by the King of Crown estates. The Crown lands in Ireland comprised, first, the hereditary, including those which James had; and, secondly, the forfeited by treason or rebellion since the 13th February, 1689. William reasonably supposed that he had a right to deal with both classes of estates; but the Commons tried to distinguish between the ancient and new estates, and to

confine his power of disposition to the latter. In 1690 a Bill had been introduced into the House of Commons for applying the Irish forfeitures towards payment of the public debt, but was not proceeded with. That Session was then terminated, the King having to attend the Congress at the Hague. In his closing speech he promised not to dispose of the Irish forfeited estates until Parliament had had another opportunity of discussing the subject. More than eight years having since elapsed, and the question never having been revived, the King proceeded to complete his grants. At length the Commons, at the close of the last session, had unexpectedly and unconstitutionally tacked to a Money Bill (the Land Tax Bill) a clause appointing seven Commissioners to take an account of the Irish forfeitures. The Commissioners now made their reports, which were laid before both Houses. Four only of the Commissioners signed that report which was acted upon by the Commons; the other three signed a separate report more like a protest. According to the report of the four, 1,000,000 Irish acres (*i.e.* 120,000 English) had been forfeited during the late Irish war; but the value was very differently estimated. The four Commissioners, being unable to obtain reliable information, conjectured the annual value to be £200,000, and the fee simple value to be £2,600,000. The mere number of acres could give no safe criterion as to income or value, much of the land was worth little or nothing, and in the final result, the true total value proved to be not more than half a million Irish, that is about £400,000 English. As to these million forfeited acres, one fourth had been restored under the Treaty of Limerick to the ancient proprietors; one seventh of the remaining three-fourths had been restored to other distressed Irish families; and the remainder had been bestowed partly on men of eminent services, and partly on personal friends. It may be here conceded that the grants to Lord Woodstock (Portland's eldest son) and to Albemarle seem excessive and impolitic; whilst the grant to the Earl of Athlone (Ginkell) which had been approved by the Irish Parliament, and had afterwards in part been sold by him, was scarcely adequate to his services, and the grant to the Earl of Galway (Ruvigney) was in like manner inadequate. However, this was merely a question of discretion in the donor, with which, if he had the right to give, the Commons could not deal. In one particular the four

Commissioners in their report exceeded their powers; they were to report upon Irish estates *forfeited during the late troubles;* but they did not confine themselves within that limit. Now part of the old royal domains (*not a forfeited estate*) had some years before been granted by William to Elizabeth Villiers upon her marriage with George Hamilton, created Earl of Orkney, his personal friend and fellow soldier in Flanders and in Ireland. She was the daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Marshal of the household to Charles the Second, and afterwards to William; her mother, Lady Villiers, had been governess to the Princesses Mary and Anne. Elizabeth was appointed Maid of Honour to Mary upon her marriage, and resided with her in that capacity at the Hague; naturally therefore she would be on familiar terms with Mary, whom she had known from childhood, and with William, so far as his cold manners would permit. She was clever and witty, more likely to be consulted in state secrets than in love matters, and afterwards in England (when even Macaulay admits that all *liaison* was over) was sometimes employed by William in political arrangements. Macaulay assumes that she had been at the Hague William's mistress; but this seems highly improbable, and to require better proof or reasons than hitherto given. There are several weighty reasons against this assumption; William was constitutionally feeble, and therefore less likely than ordinary men to indulge in irregularities: even as a young man he was unusually correct and continent, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, especially of Sir William Temple, Rapin, and the Reverend Doctor Robert Fleming, who all knew him in Holland—Temple has already been quoted. Rapin (Tindal) says, "he brought with all his virtues not one vice to the throne, he was addicted neither to wine nor women;" and Fleming says, "I find no King either in sacred or profane history, whose life and actions are less blurred and stained than his. He was never guilty of the vices of the holy David, nor the follies of Solomon." Moreover, William was neither polite nor attractive to women in general, he was not a "lady's man." Also there was nothing personally attractive in Elizabeth Villiers to a man of seven and twenty: on the contrary, she was ugly and had a frightful squint; while Mary was a fine, handsome, affectionate girl of seventeen. Again, William would scarcely be a party to placing an old brother soldier

in the false social position of a Peer marrying his friend's discarded Mistress. There may have been some passages in William's early married life which dissatified Mary's Chaplains at the Hague, or excited some jealous feelings even in herself; but the assumed criminality appears to us (to say the least) improbable. The antecedents of the Villiers family, already mentioned, would sufficiently account for the provision made for the daughter. But there is another circumstance too much overlooked by historians, namely, the intimacy between Bentinck and William when Prince of Orange, which extended to all particulars, public and private, even the most minute. Macaulay tells us how remarkable was William's affection towards Bentinck, and the tenderness and interest which he constantly evinced towards his young children, whom he called by endearing diminutives; how he cared for them in their father's absence; how, during an illness of their mother, William, although overwhelmed with public business, wrote daily to Bentinck to report his wife's condition; how, when she was out of danger, he wrote to him, "I write with tears of joy in my eyes." Now, Portland may in later life have developed the characteristic of covetousness and love of gifts; but he never was immoral or irreligious, nor did he encourage or tolerate immorality or irreligion in others. Moreover, he was plain spoken and plain dealing to his friend the Prince of Orange, even to rudeness. Now, this man married the sister of Elizabeth Villiers, by whom he had a large family. With this wife and children of Bentinck William freely circulated, and Bentinck, his wife and children, freely associated with William and with Mary; they lived and thought and acted in constant community. Would Bentinck have tolerated such a false position? Would he have thus acted towards a man who was living in constant adultery with his wife's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Villiers? It seems almost, if not absolutely, impossible. Whatever may have been the fact, the four Commissioners—apparently to annoy William—went out of their proper course and reported this grant—the other three Commissioners remonstrated that it was not within their inquiry. This grant was charged with two life Annuities, probably given by James. The four Commissioners calculated the yearly income of this estate at £25,695 18s.—so exact were they—whereas in fact, after making proper deductions, the yearly income was about

£4,000. The words of their Report were—"a grant under the Great Seal of England passed to Mistress Elizabeth Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, of all the private estate *of the late King James*, except a small part in grant to the Lord Athlone." The Report of the four Commissioners, and the protest of the three having been read, it was resolved in the House of Commons that a Resumption Bill should be brought in. It was further resolved that no petition from any person considering himself aggrieved by this Bill should be entertained. The grant of these forfeited estates to so large an extent may be considered impolitic in William; he might wisely have applied a considerable part to the payment of national burdens, but he only exercised his prerogative; and therefore this resumption by Parliament cannot be constitutionally justified. The precedents for resumption of royal grants were obsolete, and from bad times. It was, however, resolved by the House of Commons that a Resumption Bill should be brought in, and that no petition from any complainant should be received.

Next, the House of Commons disregarded their own distinction between old and new Crown estates; for the Resumption Bill enacted, that all the Irish property, which had belonged to the Crown *at the accession of James the Second*, or which had been forfeited to the Crown *since that date*, should be vested in thirteen trustees therein named. All William's Irish grants were annulled—informers were to be rewarded who should discover property liable to confiscation not already confiscated; the estates were to be sold and the proceeds applied to pay the arrears of the army. Moreover the Commons resolved, absurdly enough, that the burden of debts and taxes was occasioned by the Irish grants; and that all persons concerned in advising or passing those grants deserved censure. Both these Resolutions were laid before the King, who answered—"that he was not only led by inclination but thought it justice to reward those who had served well, particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion there; that the long war occasioned great taxes, and had left the nation in debt, and that the adoption of just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, was what in his opinion would best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the Kingdom.' Doubtless amongst the men "who had served well" in Ireland were Athlone and Galway,

and the resumption of their small estates was peculiarly hard and unjust. The King's reply displeased the Commons, who on the motion of Howe resolved that whoever advised the King to return such an answer was an enemy to his Majesty and the Kingdom. The Commons, fearing that the Resumption Bill simply in that form would not pass the Lords, consolidated it with a Money Bill, and entitled it "a Bill for granting an aid to the King by the sale of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland, and by a Land Tax in England," an unfair if not actually unconstitutional manœuvre. In this form the Lords were obliged either to pass or reject the Bill entire. They were naturally indignant at this artifice, and strongly inclined to reject the whole at the risk of losing the Land Tax supply, although they disapproved the grants of the forfeited lands. On the 4th April, 1700, this Bill was read in the Lords a second time; but in Committee and on the third reading the experiment was tried of making some amendments. The Clauses which annulled the grants of forfeited estates were not altered; but the Clauses which vested in the trustees for sale property neither forfeited nor granted away were altered —as also the Clauses by which lands and money were contrary to all principle bestowed by the House of Commons on their own grantees. The Bill with these amendments was returned to the Commons, who on the 8th April unanimously rejected the amendments. A conference was demanded, and appointed for the next day. It was ordered in the Commons that the Irish forfeitures should be again considered on the 10th April—and it was resolved that every Privy Councillor concerned in procuring or passing any exorbitant grant for his own benefit, had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. On Tuesday, the 9th April, the conference between the Lords and Commons took place; and Seymour, as chief manager for the Commons, returned the amended Bill with a short message that the Lords had no right to alter a Money Bill. The Lords resolved by forty-seven, to thirty-four votes, to adhere to their amendments. On Wednesday the 10th April both Houses again sat. The Lords demanded a second conference. It was held, and the Earl of Pembroke returned the Bill and amendments together with the Lords' reasons in writing. The Commons immediately sent back the Bill with a message that they would not yield. The Lords again considered

their amendments. The constitutional question really had come to this: "Are the Commons, whenever they please, by adopting a particular course, to overawe and control Lords and King?" At this ugly crisis—a stand having thus been made by the Lords, and a dissolution not being likely to produce a more favourable House of Commons—William, under the advice of Somers and Montague, let it be understood that he considered passing the Bill the less of two great evils. The motion before the Lords was, "that the House do adhere to their amendments." The votes for and against, including proxies, were exactly equal; therefore the motion according to the rule in the Lords was lost. It was then moved, "that the House agreed to the Bill without amendment;" thereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the Bishops left the room, and so the motion was carried by a majority of five; thus the final collision between the Commons on one side, and the Lords and King on the other side was avoided. The crisis had been constitutionally dangerous.

The Commons then again attacked Somers. It was moved that the House should, without assigning any reason, request the King to remove Lord Somers from his counsels and presence for ever—but the motion was rejected by a majority of sixty-one. It was next resolved to address the King that no person not a native of his dominions, except Prince George, should be admitted into the Privy Council either of England or of Ireland. The supplies had been voted, so that Parliament could be safely prorogued. William was resolved not to receive this address; and therefore on the next day came down to Westminster, gave his assent to the Resumption Bill, and all other Bills requiring assent, and then prorogued Parliament to the 23rd May without making any speech. "He was (says Macaulay) too angry to thank the Commons, and too prudent to reprehend them." By anticipation it may here be observed, "that it had been given out that the sale of the confiscated estates would produce £1,500,000 sterling, which was no weak argument for passing the act of resumption, and vesting those estates in thirteen trustees in aid of the great taxes to be raised in England for public uses—but in 1701 it became evident that these estates were not likely to produce a third part of that calculation. Meanwhile the trustees lived in great state and became masters of all the

affairs of the kingdom, but no propositions were yet made for the purchase of those estates." See Harris, p. 498, and Rapin (Tindal).

Hitherto the attacks upon Lord Chancellor Somers had failed, but, the factious opposition still continuing, William at length informed him that it seemed necessary that he should resign. Somers replied that he understood the object of his enemies, but would not by resigning acknowledge guilt or fear—the Great Seal must be demanded from him. The King shook his head, and merely said—"It must be so." Afterwards the Lord Jersey was sent to demand the Seal, to whom Somers delivered it. Sir Nathan Wright, serjeant-at-law, was appointed in his place with the title of Lord Keeper. In our opinion this was a weak and unworthy action on William's part—he abandoned, although reluctantly, a wise and faithful man, who would neither deceive nor betray him—many at the time blamed him.

On the 4th July, 1700, William started for Holland, having appointed Lords Justices to govern in his absence. To his great grief the Duke of Gloucester died on the 29th July, aged ten years. Thereupon the English, still anxious to preserve the line of royal descent as far as possible unbroken, and yet insure Protestant succession, turned their attention to the Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James the First, as the most suitable successor to Anne. She now visited William at the Hague, where most probably the question of her succession was discussed between them. During his stay in Holland William arranged a dispute between Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy on the one part, and Sweden on the other part. He also wrote to the Parliament of Scotland a letter authorising them to meet, and promising assistance in establishing the Presbyterian Church Government and in advancing trade, but disapproving the Darien proceedings. The Scotch Parliament resolved that in consideration of their great deliverance by his Majesty they would support him and his government. They voted 3,000 soldiers for their support, and a Land Tax, and prorogued until the 6th May following.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Death of the King of Spain—Second Partition Treaty—Conduct of France—Warlike appearances.

ON the 1st November, N. S. 1700, the King of Spain died without issue. He left a will declaring the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France, universal heir of the Spanish Monarchy, and, if he should die childless, or should inherit the crown of France, substituting for him the Duke of Berry, with remainder in the like events to the Archduke Charles, with ultimate remainder to the Duke of Savoy. How this will was brought about, or whether it was forged by Portocarrero, must for ever remain uncertain. Now arose the question whether Louis would act under this will, or be faithful to the Partition Treaty. The Dauphin decided to accept the will. A Cabinet Council was held at Marli, when the French Minister Pont Chartrain and the Dauphin voted for accepting the will, the other Ministers supported the Partition Treaty. On the 16th November Louis sent for the Duke of Anjou and addressed him thus—"Sir, the King of Spain hath made you King, the Grandees want you, and I consent. Remember only you are a Prince of France." The Duke of Anjou proceeded to Spain. But, although Louis accepted the will, he registered in the Parliament of Paris two instruments inconsistent with that will, whereby he preserved the title of the Duke of Anjou to the French crown, in case his elder brother died without heirs. And now arose the question, how will the other parties to the Second Partition Treaty regard the conduct of France? This Treaty, dated the 15th March, 1700, and made between France, England, and Holland, containing sixteen articles and executed in London, was briefly to this effect—1. The Peace of Ryswick confirmed. 2. An agreement whereby

(after reciting as the object the prevention of a new war upon the death of the Spanish King, by reason of the conflicting claims of the Dauphin, the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the King of France) the King of France for himself and for the Dauphin, and also the Dauphin for himself, agreed that the Dauphin should have for his share, in extinction of all his pretensions, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, all places depending upon the Monarchy of Spain upon the coast of Tuscany and islands adjacent (naming them), the City and Marquisate of Final, the Province of Guipuscoa; moreover that the territories of the Duke of Lorraine should be relinquished and transferred to the Dauphin instead of the Duchy of Milan, which should be relinquished and set over in exchange to the Duke of Lorraine. In consideration whereof the King of France in his own name and in that of the Dauphin, and the Dauphin himself renounced all rights and pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, and all kingdoms, islands, dominions, and places dependent upon it except as before mentioned. 3. The Crown of Spain and the other kingdoms, countries, and places which the King of Spain possessed, as well within as without Europe, were to be given and relinquished to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son, as his share, and in extinction of all his pretensions. 4. The Treaty, after ratification, to be communicated to the Emperor; but, if within three months after such communication, or after the death of the King of Spain, the Emperor or the King of the Romans should refuse to enter into the Treaty, or to agree to the share assigned to the Archduke—then the parties thereto should agree upon a Prince to whom his share should be given—certain contingencies were then provided against. And it was agreed that the contracting parties should support one another with all their forces in carrying the Treaty into operation. Notwithstanding this Treaty, the Spanish Netherlands and the Duchy of Milan were occupied by French troops immediately after the death of the King of Spain. The French fleet sailed to Cadiz, and a squadron was sent to the West Indies. The new King of Spain notified his accession to all the European powers except England.

On the 20th October, O. S. 1700, William arrived from Holland at Hampton Court. The political horizon was indeed dark. France once more in the ascendant; England

enfeebled by factions and destitute of an army. The Earl of Rochester (Tory) was now made Secretary of State and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Montague, Auditor of the Exchequer (Whig) was created Baron Halifax. The Earl of Godolphin (Tory) was appointed Joint Commissioner of the Treasury; the Earl of Tankerville Lord Privy Seal, in the place of the Earl of Lonsdale deceased; Sir Charles Hodges one of the Secretaries of State, in the place of the Earl of Jersey. Thus once more the experiment was tried, or the necessity arose, of combining Whigs and Tories in the Government.

On the 10th February, 1701, Parliament met. Robert Harley (Tory) was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. The King in his opening speech observed that the death of the Duke of Gloucester had rendered necessary a further provision for the royal succession in the Protestant line—that the death of the King of Spain with the declaration of his successor had made so great an alteration in the affairs abroad as to require mature consideration of their present state. He then called attention to the question of Supplies and the condition of the Fleet, and to the improvement of trade, and concluded in these words:—"I hope there will be such an agreement and vigour in the Resolutions you shall take upon the important matters now before you, as that it may appear we are firmly united amongst ourselves; and in my opinion nothing may contribute more to our safety at home and to our being considerable abroad."

In this Parliament the tactics of France prevalent in the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second—French gold and French intrigue—seem, through Tallard the Ambassador, to have been tried. It is certain that much French gold was during the winter brought into England—not less than £500,000. However this may be, the object of the French Ambassador was not obtained, for on the 14th February the House of Commons unanimously resolved, "That they would support his Majesty and the Government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, and to the preservation of the Protestant Religion." An address to this effect was presented by the whole House to the King, who in his reply thanked them and stated that he had received a Memorial from the Envoy of the States General,

which he delivered to them: as to the first part of which Memorial he asked their advice, and as to the latter part desired their assistance. In this Memorial the States General stated to this effect, "that, inasmuch as delay in acknowledging the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain might have been interpreted as a mere attempt to gain time to put themselves in a warlike position, they had acknowledged him, reserving to themselves the right to stipulate in the negotiation about to begin the necessary conditions to secure the peace of Europe; in which they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the consent of his Majesty and the other powers interested. They therefore prayed him to send to his Minister at the Hague instructions to act conjointly in the negotiation—but, inasmuch as it might prove impossible to agree with France and Spain, and they might be suddenly attacked by the numerous troops which France had moved towards their frontier, they would represent the necessity for the assistance of England and for the preparation of the succours stipulated for by the Treaties." Hereupon the Commons addressed the King, praying him to lay before them the Treaty between England and the States General dated the 3rd March, 1677, and all renewals thereof. This was done; and on the 21st February, 1701, the Commons again addressed the King, praying him to enter into such negotiations with the States General and other Potentates as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of these Kingdoms and the United Provinces and the preservation of the peace of Europe—and assuring him of their support and assistance in performing the Treaty of March, 1677. The King in his reply thanked the House for their advice and assistance; and stated that he would order his Ministers abroad to enter into such negotiations as would be conducive to the ends they desired. At this time the King also laid before both Houses a letter, which had somehow fallen into his hands, from the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, then governor of the so-called Prince of Wales, containing a general project for the restoration of James, and invasion of England. The Commons disregarded it. The Lords so far regarded it as to make it a reason for taking some precautions. They also approved the King's recommendation of a further provision for the succession to the Crown in the Protestant line—requested that all Treaties made since the late war should

be laid before them—and that his Majesty would engage in such alliances as he should think proper for preserving the balance of Europe—and promised to concur in whatever would be conducive to the honour and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the peace of Europe. As to the Earl of Melfort's letter, they advised the seizure of all horses and arms of Papists and other disaffected persons and their removal from London, and also a search after arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter, and the preparation of such a Fleet as might be necessary for defence. The King returned a favourable answer, and on the 26th February issued a Proclamation for all suspected persons to repair to their respective places of abode, and for enforcing the laws against all Papists and reputed Papists, and all other offenders who by discourse or demeanour should be suspected to be ill-affected.

Next, Parliament considered the further settlement of the Crown. The Commons resolved that for preserving the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the religion by law established, it was necessary that a further provision should be made for the succession to the Crown in the Protestant line, and that a further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. Several restrictions and securities were agreed upon, which were inserted in the Act afterwards passed; and the person to be the next in succession was by both Houses decided to be the Protestant Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover. Accordingly, an Act was passed, entitled "An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject" (12 & 13 W. III., c. 2), by which—after reciting the previous Act, "For declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and for settling the Succession to the Throne" (1 W. & M., sess. 2, c. 2), and further reciting the deaths of Mary and of the Duke of Gloucester—it was enacted that the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James I., should be, and was thereby declared to be the next in succession in the Protestant line to the Imperial Crown and dignity of England, France, and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereto belonging, after His Majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark; and that from and after the deceases of the said Princess

and His Majesty without issue respectively the Crown and regal government of England, France, and Ireland should be, remain, and continue to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; PROVIDED that every person taking or inheriting the Crown, who was or should be reconciled to, or should hold communion with, the See, or Church of Rome, or should profess the Popish religion, or marry a Papist, should be subject to the incapacities established by the recited Act; PROVIDED also that every King and Queen should have the Coronation Oath administered to him or her at Coronation, according to the Act "For Establishing the Coronation Oath" (1 W. & M., sess. 1, c. 6), and should make, subscribe, and repeat the Declaration in the before recited Act mentioned. And then certain other restrictions were introduced, of which the following are the most important (namely)—that every future successor to the Crown should be in communion with the Church of England; that England should not be obliged to engage in war for the defence of any territories not belonging to the British Crown without consent of Parliament; that, after the limitation in this Act should take effect, no person born out of England, Scotland, or Ireland should be capable of being a member of the Privy Council or of Parliament, or of enjoying any office or place of trust, civil or military, or receiving any grant of lands from the Crown; that no placeman or pensioner under the Crown should serve as member of the House of Commons; that judges should hold office during good behaviour, but might, upon the address of both Houses, be removed; that no pardon under the Great Seal should bar an impeachment by the House of Commons. And, finally, by the fourth section, all the laws and statutes for securing the Established Religion and the rights and liberties of the people were ratified and confirmed.

William sent a copy of this Act to the Electress, and the Order of the Garter to the Elector of Hanover. It was highly important that the Protestant succession should be definitely settled; for there was a party—principally old Jacobites, but also some few Protestants adhering to unbroken Royal descent—favourable to the so-called Prince of Wales, son of James II., now thirteen years old. The Popish Princes descended from the Royal family of England were offended at being debarred of their remote hopes.

The Duchess of Savoy, daughter of the deceased Duchess of Orleans and granddaughter of Charles I., took action. She, through Count Maffey, Ambassador from Savoy to England, protested, and made a formal declaration in the following terms:—"That Anne of Orleans, Duchess of Savoy, Princess of the blood-royal of England by the Royal Princess of Great Britain, Henrietta, her mother, put so high a value on that prerogative that she gladly made use of the opportunity then offered to set it before the eyes of the whole English nation as an evidence of her right to that august throne; that, being the only daughter of the late Princess Henrietta, she was next in succession after His Majesty William III. and the Princess Anne of Denmark according to the laws and customs of England which always preferred the nearer to the remoter line; that her title, being thus notoriously known and indisputable, stood in need of no further proofs. However, that she thought fit to protest against all resolutions and decisions contrary thereto in the best manner that could be practised in such a case." This protest was disregarded, but observe—the Duchess therein entirely ignored James II. and his son, and therefore virtually acknowledged the right of England to arrange the royal succession, and, by implication, threw doubt upon the genuineness of James's son.

And now we must rather fully detail the proceedings of England after the death of the Spanish King, with reference to the Spanish succession. William, desiring to protect Holland from the insults of the French, and to preserve the balance of power, instructed Mr. Stanhope, his Envoy to the States General, to open negotiations with the Ministers of France and Spain pursuant to the address of the English Parliament. Stanhope, having consulted with the States, made a communication to the Count d'Avaux, the French Ambassador at the Hague (whom we have before seen in Ireland) to this effect—"That King William and the States General had, on the 15th March, 1700, concluded a treaty of Partition with the French to prevent a new war, which they had reason to apprehend if the King of Spain should die without issue; that the principal aim of the contractors was to preserve peace, and particularly in these parts; but it was evident that though the King of France had accepted the Will of the Spanish King (going in that manner off from the partition) yet nevertheless His Britannic Majesty

must not lose the effect of this treaty, that is, the peace and general tranquillity, and that particular security must be given by some equivalent or otherwise." Stanhope proposed and delivered to Avaux certain Articles which may be thus briefly stated : 1.—The King of France to withdraw all his troops out of the Spanish Netherlands. 2.—No troops (except as afterwards mentioned) to be kept in the Spanish Netherlands, but Spaniards, Walloons, or other subjects of the Monarchy of Spain in the pay of Spain. 3.—The King of England and the States General to send troops for the defence of the Netherlands whenever lawfully required. 4.—For security, Ostend and Nieuport to be given to the exclusive care of His Britannic Majesty. 5.—No kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the Crown of Spain, within or out of Europe, and particularly in the Spanish Netherlands, to be yielded, transferred, devolve, or come to the Crown of France. 6.—The subjects of His Britannic Majesty to keep and enjoy all privileges and rights in the dominions and kingdom of Spain as well within as out of Europe, and by consequence also in the Spanish Netherlands, in regard to navigation, commerce and liberty of ports which they had at the death of the King of Spain. 7.—All treaties of peace and commerce, and other conventions between England and Spain, to be renewed. 8.—The subjects of His Britannic Majesty to enjoy in the dominions of the King of Spain, within and without Europe, the same privileges, rights, and franchises as the subjects of the King of France. 9.—France and Spain to promise performance of these Articles. 10.—The Treaty to be made hereon to be guaranteed by such Kings, Princes, and Potentates as the one or other of the contractors should require. 11.—All this to be done with a reserve to enlarge on these points in the negotiation. On the same day the States General delivered to Avaux their proposals, agreeing in all material points with the English proposals, but, in addition, requiring as cautionary towns Venloo, Ruremond, Stevenswaert, Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, Mons, Dendermond, Damme, and St. Donas.

Avaux was, or pretended to be, astonished at these proposals. He however agreed that France should evacuate the Spanish Netherlands as soon as the King of Spain had sufficient forces of his own there; but, as to the other Articles, he could give no other answer than that he would

transmit them to his King, which he did. Thereupon Louis resorted to his former expedient of employing intrigue and gold in London, so as form a French party and produce as much confusion as possible, and thus weaken England at home and abroad. The English House of Commons (most of them probably unintentionally) carried out this scheme too well, and William's Ministers did not cordially support him. Louis was resolved to offer no further security for the peace of Europe than a renewal of the Treaty of Ryswick.

William laid before Parliament the before stated proposals on the part of England and Holland. The House of Commons required also a copy of the Treaty of Partition, which was furnished. On the 21st March, 1701, the Commons voted an address to the King, thanking him for his message, whereby he promised to acquaint them from time to time with the state and progress of the negotiations; but also stating the ill consequences to the peace of Europe of the Treaty of Partition passed under the Great Seal during the sitting, yet without the advice of Parliament, whereby such large territories of the Spanish dominions were to be delivered up to the French King. William replied to this effect—"That he rejoiced they were pleased with his communicating the negotiations, and that he would report their future progress, and be willing to receive their advice, being persuaded that their concurrence and a good understanding between him and them would contribute to the welfare of the kingdom and the peace of Europe." The House of Lords also considered the Treaty of Partition, and sent to the King an address, wherein they complained both of the Treaty and of the methods in which it had been carried on, and represented the evil consequences thereof to the safety of Europe. They further complained that the King had not laid the instructions or draft of it before any of his Councils. And since the French King's acceptance of the Spanish King's Will was a manifest violation of that Treaty, they humbly advised him in future treaties with that Prince to proceed with such caution as might carry a real security. To this address his Majesty answered, "that it contained matters of moment, and that he would always take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England."

On the 31st March, 1701, William acquainted the House of Commons "that the French Ambassador at the Hague

had declared to the Pensioner of Holland that the French King had no other answer to return than that he was ready to renew and confirm the Treaty of Ryswick, it being all the security the States were to expect; that he communicated to the House two Resolutions of the States relating to the ships which were to join his fleet, and to the succours they desired under the treaty of the 3rd March, 1677; that he made these communications to the House in order that they might be informed of affairs abroad, where negotiations seemed at an end by the answer of the French King, which he recommended to their serious consideration. In reply, the Commons, on the 2nd April, resolved unanimously—"That His Majesty should carry on the negotiations in concert with the States General, and take such measures therein as might most conduce to their safety, and that they would enable him to support the treaty of 1677." Observe—by this treaty, made with Holland by Charles II., England was bound to furnish to the Dutch 10,000 men and twenty ships of war if they were attacked. At this time William saw that a new European confederation alone would compel France to relinquish any part of the Spanish dominions, to which extent this reply of the Commons did not go. However he replied, "That he had given orders as they advised, and thanked them for their assurances of enabling him to support the treaty of 1677." But the Lords went further. They advised the King to enter into leagues offensive and defensive, with the Emperor and other Princes and States interested in preventing the conjunction of the French and Spanish monarchies. At this crisis William's ministers did not sincerely support his views respecting a new confederation.

Meanwhile the French King was manœuvring with the Continental Powers. He succeeded in obtaining possession of Mantua. The Pope, though now favourable to France, and Venice, though favourable to the Emperor, would not declare themselves. The Emperor laid claim to the Duchy of Milan as a fief of the empire, and determined to send an army into Italy under Prince Eugene. At this time came to William a letter from the new King of Spain, wherein he announced his accession to the Crown. This letter was read in the Cabinet Council, and William was urged by his Ministers to answer and acknowledge the King of Spain, as Holland had already done. William, on the 13th April,

O.S. 1701, very reluctantly consented so to do. Meanwhile the French Ambassador at the Hague wished to engage Holland in a separate treaty without England, which Holland refused. William at this juncture sent to Holland three Scotch regiments retained in England in his own pay. Holland asked further assistance pursuant to the treaty of 1677. William laid the matter before the House of Commons, and they resolved to assist him effectually in supporting his allies. He thanked them, and expressed his desire to maintain, through England, the balance of Europe.

And now impeachments—which probably were partly got up by French influence, merely to increase confusion and difficulties—were commenced against Portland, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, with reference to the Partition Treaty, and a charge was laid against Lord Haversham; but after various delays and communications between the two Houses, they all came to nothing. However, they created angry feelings and animosities between the two Houses, and that would suit the Jacobites according to their slang maxim—"box it about, it will come to my father"—that is, "create confusion and then James must be recalled." On the 12th June, 1701, the King gave his assent to the Bill for the further limitation of the Crown, and to another for preventing inconveniences from privilege of Parliament; thanked both Houses for their care in establishing the succession in the Protestant line, and supporting him in alliances for the liberty of Europe and the security of England and Holland; and added that the season of the year and affairs abroad required his presence in Holland for the encouragement of their alliances. On the 24th June, Parliament was prorogued until the 7th August, and soon afterwards was dissolved. William appointed Marlborough commander of 10,000 men, ordered to Holland pursuant to the treaty of 1677, and minister plenipotentiary to the States General. He nominated Lords Justices to govern in his absence, and started for the Hague, where he arrived on the 1st July, 1701. He delivered a speech to the States General, wherein he expressed pleasure at being amongst them at that dangerous conjuncture; said that he could not tell what would be the result; and he should always have the same zeal for their service; and that he and the English would assist them.

William's health now rapidly declined; nevertheless he

visited and inspected the frontier garrisons of Holland. At this time Avaux announced his recall, and delivered to the States a letter from Louis, and his own memorial wherein he imputed to William all the obstacles to continuing the peace, and stated that his master had taken up arms only in defence of his grandson. The States answered the memorial in detail, and reminded him that the Kings of France and England, and also the States General, had considered a war unavoidable if, upon the death of the Spanish King, either the King of France or the Emperor should insist upon their family pretensions, and that the Partition Treaty was intended to prevent disputes; that the acknowledgment of the King of Spain would not hinder a reasonable satisfaction to be given to the Emperor; and that the causes they had for arming were the jealousies occasioned by France and Spain. Avaux departed. The Dutch continued to increase their army and to fortify their frontiers. The French did the same. All appearances indicated that European war which the two Treaties of Partition were intended to prevent. An alliance was now formed between England, Holland, and Denmark. Meanwhile, Prince Eugene, commanding the Emperor's army in Italy, defeated the French under Villeroy in several engagements. The combined fleets of England and Holland put to sea. A strong squadron under Benbow went to the West Indies.

Immediately after the peace of Ryswick, Louis began again to persecute his Protestant subjects by hanging and condemning them to the galleys, and otherwise oppressing them. Some of the Vaudois also were reduced to great distress. A petition was presented on behalf of these parties to William; and England, Holland, and Denmark now made collections for their benefit. The King of Denmark was willing that they should settle in his kingdom.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE.

Death of James—Proclamation of his Son by Louis—Consequences thereof—Death of William—His Character.

FROM July until November, 1701, William was in Holland, where he endeavoured to reconstruct a confederacy in preparation for a possible war. On the 13th September, N.S. 1701, James was attacked for the second time by paralysis. On the 14th, when he was evidently sinking, Louis held a council at Marli, attended by the Royal Princes, to consider whether, on the death of James, France should acknowledge the so-called Prince of Wales as King of England, under the title of James III. The Royal Princes, especially the Dauphin, unanimously supported, whilst the Ministers unanimously opposed, the recognition. Torcy pronounced it a violation of the Treaty of Ryswick. Louis decided against his Ministers, and afterwards went to Saint Germains, entered the bedroom of James, who was nearly insensible, and announced that his son would be acknowledged as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

On the 16th September, N.S. 1701, James died, aged sixty-seven. Thereupon, a French herald before the Palace gate of Saint Germains, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed in Latin, French, and English, King James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland. Shortly afterwards, Louis visited in state this King of England, who returned the visit at Versailles, where he was received with regal pomp and ceremony. Many foreign Ambassadors attended. The Earl of Manchester, English Ambassador, was absent: he had sent to Loo (where William then was) for instructions, and meanwhile appeared nowhere officially. The King of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy,

followed the example of Louis, but none other of the Roman Catholic Princes. The King of Denmark refused. William, having received Manchester's despatch, ordered him to quit France immediately, and also ordered Poussin, who had been left in London by Tallard to represent France, to be sent from England. This order was carried out. The act of Louis was a gratuitous insult to England, and a clear violation, if not of the letter, of the spirit of the Treaty of Ryswick. William also despatched a courier to the King of Sweden, the guarantee of this Treaty, complaining of the infraction. Louis attempted to justify his conduct by a manifesto sent to the different Courts of Europe, wherein he alleged "That he was under no engagement to the contrary by the Treaty of Ryswick, the fourth Article of which only declared that he should not disturb the King of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions, nor assist, with troops, ships, or other succours, those who should attempt to disturb him."

The conduct of Louis, however, produced in England the most beneficial results to William. The whole country, except only a few Jacobites who dared not to show themselves, was roused, and addresses poured in from all municipal bodies and from all parts of the kingdom, declaring attachment to the King, and determination to support him. For example, the City of London, in their address, stated—"That they highly resented the indignity offered to His Majesty by the French King, in giving the title of King of England to the pretended Prince of Wales, contrary to His Majesty's just and lawful title, and to the several Acts of Parliament for entailing the Crown on the Protestant line; whereby he designed, as much as in him lay, to dethrone His Majesty, to extirpate the Protestant religion, and to invade their properties and liberties, for the maintaining of which His Majesty had signalised his zeal by the frequent hazarding his precious life; that they would at all times exert the utmost of their abilities in defence of his just rights against all invaders of his Crown and dignity."

William was detained for a month at the Hague by illness, which he wished concealed from his allies. Having rallied, he reviewed his troops at Breda, and, after conferring with Marlborough, whom he appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army in Flanders, and with Heinsius, he sailed for England, where, on the 5th November, 1701, he

arrived, much debilitated. After anxious consideration he dissolved Parliament—the new one to meet on the 30th December. The result proved favourable, and it became evident that in the new Parliament there would be a majority for the King. Lord Godolphin resigned, and the Earl of Carlisle was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury in his place.

On the 30th December, Parliament met. Harley was elected Speaker of the House of Commons. William opened with a speech, extracts from which are here given (the whole will be found in Harris, p. 495); as to which speech Fleming (Discourse on the Death of William, p. 168) remarks "As he was observed to deliver it with a peculiar and unusual emotion and concern, so methought I found such a pathos in it, and such a turn of thought as those sometimes have been observed to have spoken with, who took their farewell of their friends as if it had been their last." Thus spoke William: "I promise myself you are met together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe and the late proceedings of the French King, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people The owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the Protestant religion or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what further effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders and their open and secret abettors. By the French King's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish Monarchy; he has made it to be entirely dependent on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions; and by that means has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconveniences of a war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner. . . . In order to avoid the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this

exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances according to the encouragement given me by both Houses of Parliament, which I will order to be laid before you, and which, I doubt not, you will enable me to make good. There are some other Treaties still depending, which shall be likewise communicated to you as soon as they are perfected. It is fit I should tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament. . . . In order to do your part, it will be necessary to have a great strength at sea, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour ; and also that there be such a force at land as is expected in proportion to the forces from allies."

This speech—the last ever uttered by William in Parliament—gave great satisfaction, not only to the English, but also to the Dutch and other Protestants. It was printed and framed like a picture, and hung up in most houses in England and Holland. The Lords and Commons presented to William addresses, in which they expressed "a just resentment to the French King's proceedings, in setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England, and offered to assist His Majesty to the utmost of their power in maintaining the succession in the Protestant line." And the Commons added, "That they would enable His Majesty to make good all alliances for preserving the liberties of Europe and reducing the exorbitant power of France." By command of the King, several Treaties entered into in September and November, 1701, were laid before the House of Commons, who approved the Treaties and voted money supplies, and 40,000 soldiers, and the same number of sailors, being the respective numbers named in the Treaties. Also an Act was passed for the attainder of the Prince of Wales for high treason for assuming the title of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (13 W. III., c. 3). The general feeling of England was now for War. At this juncture, the two before-mentioned East India Companies perceived that it was their interest to amalgamate, and they did so. The City, no longer divided between these two Companies, supported the King. The Commons voted £352,000 for guards and garrisons and officers on half pay. The country had now discovered the blunder of their premature reduction of the army against the King's advice.

Before William left Holland on the last occasion, he had

formed a scheme for curbing the power of France. He had arranged with the Prussian and Dutch generals for the siege of Keysenwaert, which the Elector of Cologne had handed over to the French. The Elector of Hanover was to disarm the Princes of Wolfenbuttle, who had raised troops for the French army. The King of the Romans and Prince Lewis of Baden were to besiege Landau ; and the Emperor was to send troops to Prince Eugene to enable him to attack Mantua and free Italy from the French. Moreover, the Prince of Darmstadt and the Duke of Ormond proposed to besiege Cadiz ; by the capture of which place they expected that Spain would declare for Austria. But the plans of William were now nearly at an end. His constitution and health were completely broken up. He still, however, occupied himself with state affairs, wrote to Heinsius, and rode his favourite horse Sorrel. On the 20th February, 1702, in Hampton Court Park, Sorrel slipped his foot into a mole hole and dropped upon his knees. William fell off and broke his collar bone. The bone was set, and he was conveyed in his coach to Kensington Palace, where the bone, having been displaced by the jolting, was re-set. This accident would have been trifling to a man in firm health, but in his debilitated state inflammation of the lungs supervened, which killed him on the 8th March. Even after this accident and during his last illness his anxiety for the country was manifested. On the 28th February he sent a letter to the House of Commons urging the union of England and Scotland, which he had always desired. The Commons ordered the matter to be considered on Saturday, the 7th March, but William was evidently approaching his end, and on the 6th was scarcely kept alive. Some Bills required his signature, which was effected by commissioners appointed by an instrument stamped with his name, he being too weak to write. On Saturday the Commons adjourned until nine o'clock the following (Sunday) morning, proclamation of the King's successor being requisite immediately after his decease.

It matters little how a man dies—the vital question is, how he lived—still there is a natural inclination to hear the latest particulars, the *verba novissima*. One main object of this work (as the title of "William the Third" implies) has been to develop and pourtray the real character of the *man* as seen in and deduced from his actions, plans, intentions,

and motives—the *narrative* was necessary for this object—and the man would be imperfectly described if his demeanour in death were omitted. The closing scene is described in nearly the same terms by the earlier historians and by Macaulay; from the last we give the following extracts:—

"The King was sinking fast. Albemarle had arrived at Kensington, from the Hague, exhausted by rapid travelling. His master kindly bade him go to rest for some hours, and then summoned him to make his report. The States General were in the best temper; the troops, the provisions, and the magazines were in the best order. Everything was in readiness for an early campaign. William received the intelligence with the calmness of a man whose work was done. He was under no illusion as to his danger. 'I am fast drawing,' he said, 'to my end.' His end was worthy of his life. His intellect was not for a moment clouded. His fortitude was the more admirable because he was not willing to die. He had very lately said to one of those whom he most loved, 'You know that I never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished it; but now that this great prospect is opening before me, I do wish to stay here a little longer.' Yet no weakness, no querulousness disgraced the noble close of that noble career. To the physicians the King returned his thanks graciously and gently. 'I know that you have done all that skill and learning could do for me, the case is beyond your art, and I submit.' From the words which escaped him he seemed to be frequently engaged in mental prayer. Burnet and Tenison remained many hours in the sick room. He professed to them his firm belief in the truth of the Christian religion, and received the sacrament from their hands with great seriousness. The ante-chambers were crowded all night with lords and privy councillors. He ordered several of them to be called in and exerted himself to take leave of them, with a few kind and cheerful words. . . . He strained his feeble voice to thank Auverquerque for the affectionate and loyal services of thirty years. To Albemarle he gave the keys of his closet and of his private drawers. 'You know,' he said, 'what to do with them.' By this time he could scarcely respire. 'Can this,' he said to the physicians, 'last long?' He was told that the end was approaching. He swallowed a cordial, and asked for Bentinck. Those were his last articulate words. Bentinck

instantly came to the bedside, bent down, and placed his ear close to the King's mouth. The lips of the dying man moved, but nothing could be heard. The King took the hand of his earliest friend and pressed it tenderly to his heart. . . . It was now between seven and eight in the morning. He closed his eyes and gasped for breath. The bishops knelt down and said the commendatory prayer. When it ended William was no more."

Two touching incidents occurred. When the corpse was laid out, a black riband was removed from his left arm—it confined the wedding ring and a lock of hair of his Mary. His private despatch box was opened—it contained her letters. These were not indications of a cold and heartless husband, but tally well with his words when a second marriage was suggested to him, "What! have the people so soon forgotten the Queen? If they have, I have not"—and with the fact that he had always passed the anniversary of her death in seclusion.

He died on the 8th March, 1702, aged fifty-one years, having reigned thirteen. Ever since his decease there have been in Ireland and elsewhere four days in the year specially devoted to his memory—the 4th November, as his birthday and wedding day; the 5th November, as the day of his landing in England; the 1st July, the Battle of the Boyne; and the 12th July, the Battle of Aghrim. It is a mistake to suppose that these are modern institutions.

And now what is the character of William as deducible from the foregoing narrative. Even Ralph, who wrote in 1746, and is least inclined to speak favourably of William, says—"The state of the kingdom, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of the Stuart family and the particular phrenzies and violences of King James, was certainly such as required some extraordinary assistance; and the extraordinary assistance then vouchsafed by the Prince of Orange, from what motive soever, certainly deserved the highest acknowledgments a kingdom so happily rescued could make." Amongst those historians who knew him personally, or who wrote immediately or soon after his decease, there is wonderful unanimity. Burnet, who knew him intimately for sixteen years. Rapin, who came over with him in 1688—the Rev. Robert Fleming, in 1702, who knew him in Holland and in England. Boyer, who wrote in 1703—Kennett, in 1706—and Harris, in 1749, all concur in award-

ing to him an excellent testimonial. From their estimates, and from his own actions, we may deduce his general character as King, Protestant, Soldier, and Individual man. In all these respects his memory is "glorious, pious, and immortal." As Stadtholder of Holland, and as King of England, he was the constant supporter of civil and religious liberty, and consequently the constant opponent of the French King, the enemy of both. He was constitutionally humane, although the frequent plots against his life required some painful examples. He was ambitious and fond of rule and command, but his ambition was peculiar and noble—it arose not from the love of self-aggrandisement or of self-indulgence. If as King he sought an ample revenue, a commanding fleet and a noble army, he sought them only as the means of carrying out his grand mission—the freedom of Europe, and the safety and honour of England and Holland. The mere acquisition of foreign territory never entered his thoughts. As Protestant, he was decided, yet neither a bigot nor a persecutor. He regarded not mere differences in church government or church ceremonials, provided they were free from Romish tendencies. To Popery he was unalterably opposed. Hence, although by education a Presbyterian, he, in England, conformed to the established Episcopalian Church. As soldier, he combined the dauntless private with the skilful general; not always successful, but always deserving success; never unduly depressed by mischances, always speedily rallying after defeat, never elated by victory. Necessity made him a man of war from his youth. At the age of twenty-three years he commanded allied armies in opposition to the best generals and the best troops of France. He may be said to have had a passion for war, and never seemed so much at home as in a heady fight—but his wars, both as Stadtholder of Holland and King of England, were in character always defensive and justified by the circumstances and the objects. As an individual man he was a firm and faithful friend, a generous and forgiving enemy. Although to the world in manner cold, even repulsive, so as never to be popular, he was in fact, when known and understood, kind hearted and affectionate. His reserve may be attributed partly to natural temperament, like that of his ancestor, William the Silent—partly to a habit of reticence acquired and rendered necessary by his early acquaintance with momentous and difficult

military and civil operations and contingencies—partly to feeble health, which rendered exertion irksome—but above all, in England at least, to the perpetual consciousness that he was surrounded by persons scarcely one of whom he could implicitly trust. His letters, however, prove that where he felt himself safe he was open and confiding; and the letters to him from his wife equally prove that to her he could not have been cold, unkind, or reserved—as Smollett would represent. He was a sincere Christian and a man of religious and moral habits, as Burnet and Fleming particularly mention. No mere man, however, can be perfect, and the reader can form his own estimate of his errors, faults and imperfections from the preceding narrative, and our occasional remarks. As to some acts—for example, the Partition Treaties and the grants of the Irish forfeited estates—different views have been and may still be taken by different persons. So again of the conduct of Parliament towards him generally, and on particular occasions, Whigs and Tories may hold opposite opinions. His greatest mistake, principally as exciting jealousy in his English subjects, seems to have been the rapid and indiscreet accumulation of titles and wealth upon Dutchmen. And yet who can be surprised? for never had prince possessed such noble and deserving friends as these men, firm and true in all scenes of health and sickness, of peace and war, never betraying, never misleading, never forsaking their master. In fact, some of them received less than their deserts; and some, for example Athlone and Galway, were unjustly deprived by Parliament of their inadequate rewards. In conclusion, that our readers may understand the estimate of William by his contemporaries, we will give the words of Harris:—"He was the scourge of France, the stay and support of Germany, the protector of Spain, the defender of the United Provinces, the deliverer of Britain, the conqueror of Ireland, the chastiser of tyranny, the assertor of liberty, the restorer of the laws, the conservator of true religion."

END OF PART THE FIRST.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRINCIPAL BATTLES AND SIEGES BEFORE 1688.

WE will now briefly narrate William's principal battles and sieges; first before 1688, whilst he was Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland, and secondly after 1688, when King of England. Not the least glorious part of William's life was the part passed before he became king. And the military events in Flanders and Holland between 1672 and 1688 we will in this chapter detail.

William, in defence of Holland, was, during this period, constantly opposed to Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, whose policy was to subdue Europe and establish Romanism as supreme. Charles the Second, King of England, first aided and afterwards, in a manner, resisted the French King. In 1671 Charles entered into some private agreement with Louis, commonly called the Treaty of Dover, to support France; and then, first by an attempt to seize the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and afterwards by formal manifesto, made war upon Holland. Thereupon Louis rapidly overran the United Provinces, and fixed his camp and Court at Utrecht. Germany, Spain, and Sweden were amazed at the conduct of Charles. The Elector of Brandenburg declared for the Dutch, and the Emperor of Germany sent to the Rhine an army under Count Montecuculi to join the Elector. At this crisis William Henry, Prince of Orange (our William the Third), then only twenty-two years old, was chosen Captain and Admiral-General, and was gradually declared Stadtholder of all the United Provinces. He immediately proceeded to the Dutch army, then posted at Nieukop, where he successfully defended himself against the whole French force, commanded by Louis in person. Holland now acquired new courage and new energies. The French, 5,000 strong, were twice repulsed before Ardenburg. The Bishop

of Munster, then acting with France, was compelled to raise the siege of Groningen. At this time Cornelius de Witt and his brother John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, opponents of the Prince of Orange, were killed at the Hague in a popular tumult; and in the place of John de Witt Fagel became Grand Pensionary, who proved a firm supporter of the young Stadtholder. The Elector of Brandenburg offered his assistance "towards the recovery of what his ancestors acquired." Thus commenced the Confederation of which we have already heard, which soon comprised Princes, both Protestant and Romish, interested for self-defence in opposing France, of which confederation the Prince of Orange was the head.

Let us now trace the Prince's proceedings from 1672 to 1676. First, Louis proposed to him to become King of the United Provinces under the joint protection of England and France. He replied that "he never would betray a trust reposed in him, nor ever sell the liberties of his country which his ancestors had so long defended." A similar proposal was afterwards, in June, 1672, made to him at Utrecht by the English Duke of Buckingham, to whom he replied that "what he said concerning the danger was indeed true, but that he had one way out of it, which was to lie in the last dike." Louis then proceeded to overrun and lay waste his territories. He advanced from Utrecht to Woerden, and thence towards Leyden; but the Prince of Orange posted himself in an entrenched camp at Bodegrave, between Woerden and Leyden, and drove back the French to Utrecht. The Prince now arranged with the Emperor, and with the Dukes of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, and with Spain, for a joint campaign in the ensuing spring; whence a diversion would arise in favour of Holland by drawing off the French towards Germany and Flanders.

On the 28th May, 1673, there was a sea fight between the united English and French fleets, commanded by the Duke of York (afterwards King James the Second), the Earl of Sandwich, and Count D'Estrees; and the Dutch fleet, commanded by Banckers, De Ruyter, and Van Ghent. Both sides claimed the victory. The loss of men was nearly equal; of ships greater on the English and French side. Amongst the killed were the Earl of Sandwich, De la Rabeniere (French), and Van Ghent (Dutch).

The Prince of Orange next besieged Woerden, Colonel

Zulestein and Count Horn acting under him. The French Marshal (Duke of Luxemburg), with the loss of 2,000, threw 3,000 men into the town, but was ultimately driven back by Count Horn. The Prince, however, raised the siege, and advanced to Rosendael in North (Dutch) Brabant. Thence, with 24,000 horse and foot, he marched towards Liege in Flanders, his object being to drive the French from the River Meuse and give the French General, the Count de Duras, battle, which Duras avoided. The Prince, being joined by the Spanish cavalry, went to Maestricht, and thence to Lenwich, Duras still avoiding battle. The Prince next attempted to invest Charleroy, but was prevented by the frost from opening the trenches. He, therefore, after taking and destroying Binch, marched back through South (Flemish) Brabant, and placed his army in winter quarters.

Meanwhile Luxemburg attempted operations in Holland, and committed great cruelties and devastation. The Dutch recovered Coerverden, an important fortified town of Overyssel, which had been taken by the Bishop of Munster.

In the spring of 1673 the Dutch were hard pressed. Louis and Turenne were at Maestricht, and the Prince of Condé and Luxemburg at Utrecht; whilst the united French and English fleets were ready to attack them at sea.

On the 10th June, N.S., Louis, with an army of 40,000 horse and foot, invested Maestricht, which had a garrison of 4,000 foot and 900 horse. After a gallant defence of three weeks—one-half of the garrison having been killed and the remainder half-starved—the place was surrendered. Louis in the siege lost 9,000 men and many officers. Louis then demolished the fortifications of Tongres and closed the campaign; sending part of his army to Marshal Turenne, another part to ravage the country of Triers (Treves) because its Elector had joined the Emperor, and three brigades to his army in Holland.

The combined French and English fleet, under Prince Rupert and Count d'Estrees (about 110 ships), sailed for the coast of Holland, and fell in with the Dutch fleet under Ruyter and Van Tromp (about 100 ships) at Schouvelt. On the 28th May, 1673, and again on the 4th June, the two fleets engaged, and, after furious fighting, were separated by the night. Both sides claimed the victory. The Dutch got within their own banks, and the French and English returned to their own coasts. Another fight between these

two fleets took place in July off the Texel without any decisive result. After this last naval action the Prince of Orange recalled those troops which were defending Zealand, and, with an army of 25,000 men, suddenly besieged and took Naerden, about fourteen miles from Amsterdam, although Luxemburg, with 10,000 men, attempted to relieve the place. Leaving a garrison there, under Count Koningsmark, the Prince of Orange returned to the Hague to concert further measures. He resolved to change the seat of war, so as to compel the French to withdraw their garrisons from Holland to protect other points. Winter was approaching. Having strengthened his alliance with Spain and with the Emperor, and having left part of his army to guard important points in Holland, the Prince went to Rosendael in North Brabant, where he joined the Count of Monteray, and took the command of the Confederate forces. Finding Condé too strongly posted to be dislodged, he marched south-east towards the Rhine; and, after taking Rhinsec by storm, joined Montecuculi, commander of the Emperor's troops, between Andernac and Bonn. The Confederates next besieged, and on the 14th November took Bonn, having prevented Marshal d'Humieres from throwing in relief. Meanwhile Turenne was kept in check by the Duke of Lorraine, who was on the banks of the Moselle. Thus a passage was opened for the Germans over the Rhine into Flanders. The strategy of the Prince of Orange succeeded, the French being now compelled to withdraw their garrisons from Holland for the purpose of saving their positions on the Rhine, and on the Meuse and Moselle. They abandoned their conquests in Holland, retaining only Grave in North Brabant, and Maestricht in Limburg (Flanders), which then belonged to Holland. In several places which they quitted they exacted contributions and destroyed the fortifications.

In February, 1674, peace was made between England and Holland, whereby the Prince of Orange was delivered from one difficulty. This peace was commemorated by a medal struck at Amsterdam, representing on one side the Prince of Orange on horseback with an orange branch over his head and the motto, "*Vires ultra sortemque juventæ*," and on the other side a dove. Charles, King of England, now offered to Louis his mediation for effecting a general peace, and sent Sir William Temple to negotiate. Meanwhile the

Bishop of Munster made peace with the Emperor, which so alarmed the French that they abandoned the frontier towns of Flanders, requiring their troops for the Rhine; in fact they feared that Holland, Germany, and Spain combined would transfer the war into France. Louis and Condé seized the province of Franche Compté. Observe—these campaigns were carried on by a young man of twenty-three against experienced French generals with splendid troops.

In July, 1674, the Prince of Orange advanced to Mechlin (Malines); the Imperialists advanced to Namur and took Dinant, whence they went and joined the Dutch and Spanish troops. The Prince of Orange was generalissimo of the allies; under him the Count de Souches commanded the Germans, the Prince of Vaudemont and Count Monteray the Spaniards, and Count Waldeck the Dutch. This Confederate army, 60,000 strong, prepared to attack Condé, who, with 50,000 men, was encamped on the other side of the River Pieton.

In July, 1674, Sir W. Temple arrived at the Hague to negotiate a general peace, and had an interview with Fagel. In the next month the important battle of Seneffe was fought. If the Prince of Orange could obtain a decisive victory he might advance into French territory, and so divert the French from Flanders and from Holland. For several days he endeavoured to bring Condé to an engagement, and with this object he advanced on Seneffe, threatening to besiege it. During the advance Condé attacked the Spanish cavalry and routed them, and also some Dutch infantry sent to their assistance. A general action, called the Battle of Seneffe, ensued, and after a fearful fight of ten hours ended in a disputed victory. The loss on both sides in killed and wounded was severe, including officers of high rank. The Duke of Luxemburg was present, and commanded the right wing of the French. Sir William Temple says:—"As the numbers on both sides were not much different when the fight began, so were those esteemed that fell in this battle, and to an amount of six or seven thousand on each side. When the night parted the armies, the French retired back to their former quarters, and next morning the Confederates back to that which they designed when they broke up the day before. The Allies claimed the victory because they were left upon the field, and the French upon

the greater number of standards and prisoners they carried away; but whoever had the honour, they both felt the loss." Throughout this battle against two of the best generals in Europe, the Prince of Orange greatly distinguished himself, exposing his life in the most reckless manner in leading and rallying his troops. An intercepted letter from Condé to Louis said that "he found himself in a sorry condition, as having lost the flower of his infantry and the best part of his horse, and therefore did not think himself strong enough to hazard a second engagement." And the same letter, speaking of William, said that "he acted like an old captain in all but only venturing himself too much like a young man."

The day after the battle the Prince of Orange marched with his whole army towards Mons. After a short repose both armies recommenced hostilities. The Prince of Orange again sought, and Condé again avoided, a general engagement. Condé was so placed and entrenched that he could not be forced to fight, and was content to watch movements, preserve Flanders, and prevent irruption into France.

At this time Maestricht and Grave (Graef) were the only Dutch towns retained by France. Grave, having a garrison of four thousand men, and four hundred and fifty cannons, was invested on all sides by the Confederates. The Prince of Orange, still anxious to force Condé into a general engagement, besieged Oudenarde. Condé moved to its relief, and battle seemed imminent; but from the mismanagement and discordance of his allies, the Prince was compelled to retire. He therefore left a strong force, under Waldeck, near Oudenarde, and marched north-east to Grave (already invested), which on the 25th October, 1674, surrendered. A medal was struck to commemorate the event.

In November the Prince of Orange, having placed his troops in winter quarters, went to the Hague. Meanwhile Charles the Second, King of England, endeavoured to effect a separate peace between France and Holland; but the Prince steadily refused to ignore his allies the peace must be general.

About this time the Prince had a dangerous attack of smallpox, through which he was assiduously attended by his friend Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland. Upon

his recovery, the Prince proceeded to the rendezvous at Rosendael.

The French opened the campaign of 1675 by taking Limburg, and afterwards laid waste the country about Louvain, Brussels, and Mechlin. In July Louis returned to Versailles, leaving Condé in command. The Prince of Orange and Condé watched each other so closely that neither could gain an advantage, and no general action was fought. Condé was soon afterwards called from Flanders to succeed Turenne, who had been killed. Luxemburg took the command, with orders not to risk a battle. He was prevented by the Prince of Orange from relieving Treves, which fell to the Imperialists.

A sea fight, without any decisive result, took place between the French fleet and the combined Spanish and Dutch fleets near Messina, in which the gallant Dutch Admiral De Ruyter was killed.

Let us now look at the operations from the opening of the Treaty at Nimeguen in 1676 until the Peace in 1678.

In April, 1676, Marshal de Crequi and Marshal Humieres laid all the country near Courtray under contribution, the Spaniards being too feeble to oppose. The main body of the French army, under Louis, was marching for Flanders. The Prince of Orange was also ready and anxious for a general engagement.

Early in July, 1676, a Congress was held at Nimeguen, the French, Dutch, and English representatives being present—Sir William Temple and Sir Lionel Jenkins appearing for England as mediators. Meanwhile hostilities were not suspended, and the general result was favourable to the French. They took Condé and Bouchain, after which Louis returned to Paris, leaving Marshal Schomberg in command.

The Prince of Orange besiged Maestrict: about the end of July the trenches were opened. Amongst the English officers in his army was Colonel (afterwards Sir John) Fenwick, whose subsequent tragical end will be narrated. In August the Prince of Orange was wounded by a musket-ball in the arm, though not seriously. But he had fearful difficulties; sickness thinned his ranks; the forces promised by the Bishop of Munster (who had now joined the Confederacy) and by the Princes of Lunenburg did not arrive;

the Rhinegrave, his most efficient officer, was killed; his heavy artillery was delayed; and, lastly, Marshal Schomberg, with the main body of the French, came to relieve the place. Under these circumstances the Prince was obliged to raise the siege. Afterwards the hostile armies watched each other and manœuvred, but there was no further fighting. Marshal Schomberg then little imagined that he should subsequently quit the French service and assist William at the Boyne. It is said that William never thoroughly forgave Schomberg for frustrating him at Maestricht.

Fresh attempts were now made by France to carry out the Conference for Peace. In November the various representatives met at Nimeguen. In the following January, 1677, the Prince of Orange again expressed to Sir William Temple his objection to any separate peace or treaty. Afterwards the claims and pretences of the various hostile powers were delivered to the mediators, but nothing more was done until April, 1677.

Meanwhile, in February and March, 1677, the French took Valenciennes and Cambray, and penetrated into Flanders and into Germany on the side of the Rhine, burning and desolating even defenceless towns and villages. When they besieged Cambray, the Prince of Orange marched to its relief. After a sharp fight at Montcassel, in which he greatly exposed himself to danger, the Prince retreated, but the enemy was too much crippled to follow. After this Cambray surrendered upon terms. During the remainder of the campaign the French acted on the defensive. In October, 1677 (the campaign being then over), the Prince of Orange went to England, and proposed for Mary, elder daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. This marriage had been previously negotiated through Sir William Temple. King Charles received the offer favourably, but insisted that the terms of the peace should be first settled. The Prince replied that "he must end his first business before he began the other." The King and Duke still pressing the point, the Prince said "his allies, who were like to have hard terms of peace, would be apt to believe he had made this match at their expense, and for his part he would never sell his honour for a wife." Upon this point both parties seemed to be inflexible, and the marriage likely to be a failure. At length, however, mainly

through Sir William Temple, the King and Duke yielded; the marriage was agreed upon without settling the terms of peace, was cordially approved by Holland, and solemnized on the 4th November, 1677. Louis was indignant, and said that the Duke of York "had given his daughter to his greatest enemy." From this date the Prince of Orange became even more prominently the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, and the greatest check to the power of France.

After the marriage, conferences took place in London between King Charles, the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, the Lord Treasurer, and Sir William Temple, respecting the terms of peace with France. The Prince still refused to abandon his allies. At length it was agreed that the following terms should be proposed to Louis:—"All taken in the war to be restored by France to the Empire and Emperor, the Duchy of Lorraine to its own Duke, and all on both sides between France and Holland; and to Spain the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guillain, and Binch. That the Prince should endeavour to procure the consent of Spain, and the King that of France." This proposal was sent to Louis by Lord Duras, afterwards Earl of Feversham, with a requisition that it should be answered in two days. Nevertheless Duras returned to London with an indefinite reply, that Louis would instruct his ambassador in London and treat with Charles. It is needless to relate the subsequent delays and negotiations. The result was that peace, commonly called the Peace of Nimeguen, was made in the year 1678 by three separate treaties, one between France and the States General, another between France and Spain, and the third between France and the Emperor—not, however, to the satisfaction of the Prince of Orange. The Prince and Princess of Orange in November, 1677, proceeded to the Hague, where they were heartily received.

The remaining battles in which the Prince took part before his accession to the English throne were briefly the following:—

Louis, whilst debating the terms of peace, had continued his preparations for campaigning. Charles recalled those English troops which had been in Louis's service. The French captured from the Dutch the Island of Tobago. In

February, 1677, Louis, marching from Paris with a vast army, threatened either Luxemburg, Namur, or Mons, but suddenly invested Ghent, which surrendered in nine days. Louis then divided his army, under Marshals De Lorges and Schomberg and other officers. After alarming Bruges, Ostend, and other places, he fell upon Ypres, which was taken after a stout resistance. At this time Charles, King of England, sent three or four thousand men, under the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Duras, to protect Ostend and Nieuport against the French. Louis placed his army in quarters, and returned to Paris.

In 1678, to the astonishment of the allies, Louis abandoned Messina and all Sicily. Mons was invested by Luxemburg, and the Prince of Orange marched to its relief, having, amongst other troops, a body of English and Scotch, under the Earl of Ossory. On the 14th August a severe battle, of nine hours, ensued, called the Battle of Mons, or of St. Denis, from the Abbey of St. Denis, where Luxemburg's head-quarters were. After great slaughter, the fight was terminated by night. The Confederates retained possession of the abbey; Luxemburg retired in confusion during the darkness, and the Confederates the next morning took possession of his abandoned camp. As usual, the Prince of Orange evinced his personal gallantry, and was nearly shot by a French captain, his life being only saved by Auverquerque shooting the Frenchman. Luxemburg withdrew towards Mons, and covered himself with a wood on one side and a river on the other, leaving to the Prince of Orange the field of battle, the wounded, and the tents, baggage, gunpowder, and stores. It may fairly be considered a victory of the allies.

The next day the Prince received notice of the Peace of Nimeguen, which stayed all further proceedings. War being for the present over, the Prince went to the Hague, and thence to Dieren for his favourite amusement, hunting; like our Wellington, after the Convention of Cintra, "We may now go and shoot red-legged partridges."

During the peace—such as it was—the Prince of Orange was obliged to remain quiet from 1678 until 1684, brooding over the troubles falling and to fall upon Europe from the exorbitant power and injustice of France. The late treaties were inconsistent with his view of enlarging the frontier on both sides of Flanders, without which he anticipated Louis

would only end one war to begin another, after having broken up the Confederation and replenished his own coffers and army. This anticipation was soon realized. Louis immediately began his encroachments, claiming whole provinces under the name of *dependencies* upon his new conquests conceded to him by the Treaties of Nimeguen. Under such pretences, he seized Strasburg and besieged Luxemburg, because the Spaniards would not give up several places in Flanders. Thereupon Spain declared war against France, and England interposed, but without good effect.

The Prince of Orange saw all this with indignation, but could do nothing. He, however, effected a league of mutual defence between the Emperor, Sweden, the States of Holland, and Franconia, and several other free and imperial cities. Meanwhile Louis surprised and took Courtray and Dixmude, and then took Luxemburg.

At length, in 1684, a Congress met at the Hague, and a truce for twenty years was arranged. Nevertheless, by the advice of the Prince of Orange, Holland kept her existing forces in pay, and retained some hundreds of Protestant officers, driven from their own country by persecution. These men in 1688 accompanied William to England.

Notwithstanding the peace and the truce, Louis entered the Principality of Orange, persecuted and dragooned the inhabitants, prohibited the Protestant religion, threw down the walls, and destroyed the fortifications. The States General complained, and demanded reparation, but no more was granted than the withdrawal of the French troops and the restoration of trade.

In 1685 Louis revoked the Edicts of Nantes and Nismes, made by his grandfather in favour of his Protestant subjects, and began to drive them into the Romish Church. He also now took absolute possession of the Principality of Orange, and united it to the rest of Provence, in clear violation of the title and rights of the Prince, who henceforth naturally opposed Louis, not only from patriotic motives but also from personal dislike.

CHAPTER XX.

PRINCIPAL BATTLES AND SIEGES AFTER THE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND IN 1688.

On the Continent between 1689 and 1695.

WHEN the Prince of Orange came to the English throne, in 1688, the Confederation against France was complete. England, Spain, the Emperor Leopold, the Germanic and Batavian Federations were all combined against France, whose only ally was the Sultan of the Turks, then warring with Austria. A fearful conflict was evidently impending. A French army, under Marshal Duras, had invaded and cruelly ravaged the Palatinate. In 1689, from various causes, war against France was declared by Germany, the States General, and Spain, and, lastly, by England. One reason assigned by England was French interference in Ireland. Early in 1689 war was raging on the Continent, from the Haemus to the Pyrenees. France was attacked on all sides.

The Elector of Bavaria, with one German army, occupied the Archbishopric of Cologne. Charles, Duke of Lorraine, with another German army, drove the French beyond the Rhine, and took the fortified city of Mentz. Between the Sambre and Meuse the French, under Marshal Humieres, were opposed by the Dutch under the Prince of Waldeck, in whom William reposed great confidence. Under Waldeck were Marlborough, commanding a British brigade, and Thomas Talmash (afterwards killed at Brest), commanding the Coldstream Guards. On the 5th August, 1689, there was a fierce skirmish between Humieres and Waldeck at Walcourt.

About this time Pope Innocent the Eleventh, who had favoured the Confederation, died, and was succeeded by Pope Alexander the Eighth, but the same cause which im-

pelled Innocent to support the Confederation induced Alexander not to oppose it. The cause of quarrel was the claim of the French King to appoint Bishops within his own dominions, which the Popes would not allow.

In June, 1690, Waldeck at Fleurus fought Luxemburg, and, after a severe struggle, was worsted ; but Luxemburg's victory produced no important consequences, and the conflicting armies went into winter quarters without any effective battle. The Confederation had, by death, lost one valuable member, namely, the Duke of Lorraine, the ablest general in the Imperial service, but also gained one, namely, Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy.

In January, 1691, William went to Holland, and presided at the Congress of the Confederate Princes.

The campaign was opened by Louis with 100,000 men, abundantly equipped and supplied, under Luxemburg and the engineer Vauban. He besieged and took Mons, a most important fortress of the Spanish Netherlands, entirely through the sluggishness and incompetency of the Spaniards. William put all the Dutch forces in motion, and sent requisitions to all the German Princes. He raised 50,000 men, and advanced to the relief of Mons—a hazardous attempt but Mons surrendered before he could arrive. After this, military operations were suspended for several weeks. They recommenced in June, and terminated in September, without any important battle. William and Luxemburg were both too wary to fight at a disadvantage.

In March, 1692, William opened the campaign. The Confederation was in danger of disruption ; also Pope Alexander was dead, and his successor, Innocent the Twelfth, was reconciled to Louis, who had made some concessions. However, William succeeeded in keeping the Confederates together, but could not succed in getting them to take the field early. Consequently, Louis, who had 120,000 splendid troops, commanded by himself in person, with Luxemburg and Vauban under him, suddenly attacked Namur. For this duty he went with 30,000 men, compelling a large number of the Flemish peasants to act as pioneers ; Luxemburg, with 80,000, was strongly posted between Namur and Brussels, to prevent any relief.

The fortress of Namur, situate on the top of a rock, at the confluence of the rivers Sambre and Meuse, was one of the strongest citadels of Europe, both from nature and art.

Vauban had employed his skill in fortifying it, and Cohorn, his rival, had recently further improved its defences. Hitherto, it had never been taken. The town of Namur, protected by the citadel, was rendered strong by art alone. Vauban was now with the besiegers, and Cohorn with the besieged. As soon as the delays occasioned by his allies would permit, William marched to the relief of the place, but it was too late. He threatened and attempted to attack the French works at different points, but Luxemburg could, and did, with superior force, move, and prevent his attack at every point. In June, heavy rain fell, and the Sambre overflowed its banks. The roads became swamped, and the trenches were filled with water and mud. Cohorn was disabled by a severe wound. The Governor of Namur was a poor creature. On the eighth day the town surrendered, and the citadel three weeks afterwards, mainly in consequence of the delay of the Confederates in taking the field, and thus preventing the investment. During the siege the battle of La Hogue was fought.

Louis returned to Versailles, leaving Luxemburg in command. At this time Condé and Turenne were dead, and Luxemburg was the head of the French generals. In July, 1692, William's head-quarters were at Lambeque.

Six miles distant, near Steinkirk, Luxemburg was strongly encamped with the principal part of his army, and six miles beyond that point was the Marquis of Boufflers, with a large force.

Battle of Steinkirk.

The whole country between Lambeque and Steinkirk was intersected by hedges and ditches, and by long and narrow ravines—a difficult country for cavalry operations and good for defence—so that Luxemburg, being favourably posted, apprehended no attack. He had in William's camp a correspondent named Millevoix, private secretary to the Elector of Bavaria, who betrayed to him all the plans of the Confederates. Millevoix, being detected, was compelled to write to Luxemburg that the allies would, on the next day, send out a strong foraging party, and that some battalions of infantry with artillery would by night place themselves between the two hostile armies to protect the foraging party. Luxemburg was completely deceived; and

the next morning, when the advance of the enemy in full force was reported to him, he at first believed that it was only the foraging party of which he had been advised. The Confederate advanced guard, consisting principally of British soldiers, under the command of Count Solmes, began the attack. Mackay, who commanded the leading division, was to be supported by a strong body of horse and foot. He drove the French from hedge to hedge, until he posted himself in the wood on their right, where he erected two batteries on small eminences, whence he greatly annoyed the enemy. So far an important position was gained; and meanwhile the Confederate main body was advancing in support. But Luxemburg rallied his army, surprised as it had been and nearly routed; and was prepared to meet the advancing body. The Confederate vanguard, after performing prodigies of valour, was now overpowered by superior numbers. They twice sent to Count Solmes for assistance; and William's aide-de-camp peremptorily ordered him to send infantry to the support; but Solmes, acting in the most unaccountable manner, sent only cavalry, which, from the nature of the ground, were useless. Hence the allied vanguard was nearly annihilated and the movement spoilt. And now Boufflers brought up the whole of his detached force. The fighting was fearful and at close quarters. The French household troops, at a critical moment, advanced at the charge and turned the fortune of the day, the Dukes of Chartres and Orleans and the Prince of Conti greatly distinguishing themselves.

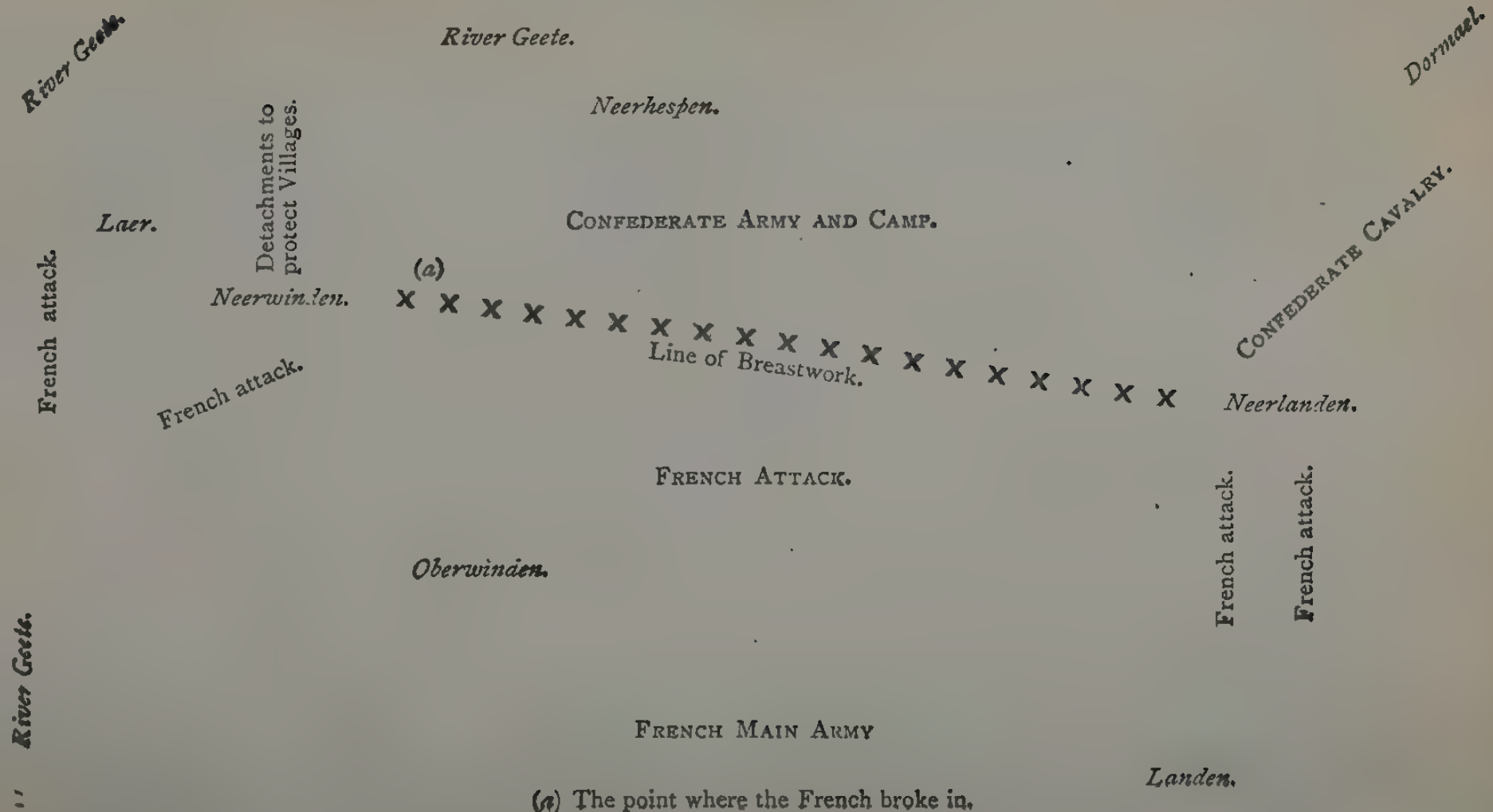
Auverquerque, bringing up two fresh battalions, saved the remains of Mackay's division. The loss in men and officers was severe; 7,000 on each side killed and wounded. On the Confederate side Generals Mackay, Sir Robert Douglas, Sir John Lanier, and the Earl of Angus were slain; also Mountjoy, who, after having been detained three years in the Bastille at Paris, had been exchanged for Richard Hamilton. On the French side the Marquis of Bellefonds and other distinguished officers were killed. The Duke of Berwick and the Irish general Sarsfield were present in the French army. The loss of the battle was attributed to the misconduct of Count Solmes, whom William refused to see for several months afterwards. The Confederate army retired to Lambeque unpursued and in good order, the enemy being too much injured to press his advantage.

LANDEN.

The Battle of Steinkirk was followed by the Battle of Landen, otherwise called the Battle of Neerwinden, or of Neerhespen, which was fought on the 19th (29th) July, 1693. The principal commander on the French side was Field Marshal the Duke of Luxemburg, under whom were, amongst others, his son the Duke of Montmorency, Prince Conti, and the Duke of Berwick.

The principal commander on the Confederate side was William in person, under whom, amongst others, were Prince Charles of Brandenburg, the Earl of Athlone (Ginkell), Brigadier-General Ramsay, Lieutenant-General Dumont (Hanoverian Infantry), the Earl of Marlborough, the French refugee Marquis of Ruvigny (now Earl of Galway), and the Pensionary Fagel. The French army numbered 80,000, the Confederate army not more than 50,000. Harris says that the Confederate army had been, by detachments sent off to reinforce Liege and Maestricht, rendered inferior by 35,000 men to the French army. With this superiority Luxemburg advanced to attack William, who might have avoided battle by crossing the River Geete (or Gette), but preferred to await the attack at Neerhespen (or Nether Hespen). He improved his position and fortified his camp, as well as time would permit, by digging ditches, throwing up mounds, placing palisades in the ground, and disposing his artillery most advantageously. The following slight sketch will elucidate the fighting :—

BATTLE OF LANDEN.



(a) The point where the French broke in.

Part of the Confederate army was posted in the villages of Laer and Neerwinden, on the one extremity of their camp-line; and another part at Neerlanden, on the other extremity, to resist the French attack upon those points. The two points, Neerwinden (which was surrounded by a moat and fence) and Neerlanden, were connected by a continuous line of breastwork hastily thrown up, behind which line was posted the main body of the Confederate infantry. The space between Neerlanden and Dormael was occupied by the Confederate cavalry. Luxemburg, on the 18th (28th) July, in his advance, took possession of Landen and Oberwinden. On the next morning, after some artillery firing, the battle was fought at close quarters. The village of Neerwinden was manifestly the important point both for attack and defence. It was assaulted by the French left wing under Montchevreuil, an experienced officer, and Berwick, then comparatively young. Berwick, having entered, was soon expelled from the village with dreadful slaughter, and, by a singular coincidence, was taken prisoner by Brigadier-General George Churchill, one of his mother's brothers, who conducted him into the presence of William. The French, driven in confusion out of Neerwinden, were reinforced and rallied by a division commanded by the Duke of Bourbon. William sent up troops from other points to sustain the position at Neerwinden. The French again forced their way into the village, but were again, after severe fighting, driven out with terrible loss. So far the turning-point of the battle still remained in possession of the Confederates. Meanwhile, in front the contention was furious. Luxemburg repeatedly brought his infantry within pistol-shot of the breastwork—as often they retired, driven back by the heavy firing in front and flank. At length Luxemburg brought up, for a third attack upon Neerwinden, the household troops, who had turned the fight at Steinkirk. For the third time the French penetrated into Neerwinden—for the third time William tried to expel them. Putting himself at the head of some English regiments, he charged the royal guards of Louis with such impetuosity as to drive them out; and they were rallied with great difficulty by the strenuous and united efforts of Luxemburg and of the Dukes of Chartres and Bourbon. But now the French penetrated into the plain of the camp at the point marked (*a*) in the sketch; and at the same time the centre and left of the

Confederate army had been so weakened by drafts for Neerwinden that the remainder could no longer maintain their ground. About four o'clock in the afternoon the whole Confederate army gave way. Confusion and havoc followed. Solmes, mortally wounded, was taken. The Duke of Ormond was also taken, but immediately exchanged for Berwick. Ruvigny, in the thickest of the fight, was captured, and would probably have been shot as a French subject, but escaped in the general turmoil. Many of the Confederates were drowned in the Geete in attempting to cross, but the principal body was drawn off by the route of Dormael and Neerhespen. At this fearful crisis William, having ordered Talmash to conduct the retreat, personally led on to the charge a few brave regiments still maintaining discipline, and kept the enemy at bay. He wore no cuirass, and was decorated with the insignia of the Garter; his two led horses were shot, one musket-ball passed through the curls of his wig, another through his coat, and a third injured his side and tore his blue riband of the Garter. He charged at the head of Galway's horse; then he dismounted and led infantry; next he rallied one corps with the words, "That is not the way to fight—you must stand close up to them." Sword in hand he threw himself upon the enemy. At one time, heading two English regiments, he fought and kept in check seven French regiments. At length, with great difficulty, attended by a few brave fellows who stood by him to the last, he crossed by one of the bridges over the Geete, and joined his forces. His enemy, Prince Conti, said "that he saw the King exposing himself to the greatest dangers, and that surely so much valour very well deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore."

Amongst the slain at Neerwinden were Montchevreuil, the Duke of Uzes, and Sarsfield, on whom James had conferred the title of Earl of Lucan.

The victory must be considered to belong to the French, because they took possession of the ground and of many pieces of artillery; but the victory was fearfully bought, and, practically, scarcely better than a defeat. Luxemburg made no attempt to pursue the enemy, doubtless because he could not. He continued inactive during fifteen days; whereas, in a few days, the Confederate army, having called in detachments and contingents, was as strong as before the battle, and ready to fight again. The Confederates lost

in killed and wounded between six and seven thousand men, but not many officers; the French twice that number and many officers.

On this occasion a medal was struck. On one side was the bust of William, on the other side a porcupine wounding with its quills two bull-dogs attacking him.

NAMUR.

The next important occurrence was the siege and capture of Namur by the Confederates in July and August, 1695.

The French were commanded by Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers and by the young Duke of Maine, illegitimate son of Louis, a cowardly and incompetent person. The Confederates were commanded by William, under whom were the Prince of Vaudemont, the Elector of Bavaria, Portland, and various other distinguished Dutch and English officers. Military operations commenced in June, 1695. William's first movements were intended to mask his real object, which was the recovery of Namur. By natural position, and by the works of the great engineers Vauban and Cohorn, it was, as before stated, a very strong fortress. Over one of the gates the French had placed the vaunting words, *Reddi, capi non potest.* The French expected an attack on Ypres from William's force near Ghent; but William, having communicated his design to his generals, and having left the Prince of Vaudemont in Flanders to keep Villeroy in check, suddenly marched south from Ghent direct upon Namur. At the same time the Prince of Bavaria from Brussels and the Bradenburghers from Huy advanced upon Namur, and thus the Confederates closed round the place. Boufflers with difficulty threw himself into the town with seven regiments of dragoons, a body of sappers and miners, and the French engineer Megrigny. He assumed the command. The besieging army had great difficulties; the town was strong; the fortress considered impregnable; provisions and ammunition abundant; the garrison, comprising 16,000 of the finest troops, well commanded, and having a most skilful engineer. Also Villeroy, by either defeating or evading Vaudemont, could bring up 80,000 men to raise the siege. With this object Villeroy attacked Vaudemont; but Vaudemont, after a

The campaign of 1695 commenced with the hostile armies in the following relative positions :—

EAST FLANDERS.
William and Confederates.—Vaudemont left there when William advanced on Namur.

Dixmude.

GHENT

Deynze

Ypres.

WEST FLANDERS.

River Scheld.

River Lys.

French under Villeroy and Duke of Maine.

TOURNAY.
Head-quarters of Villeroy.

S. BRABANT.

BRUSSELS.
Elector of Bavaria and Confederates.

HAINAULT.

Enghien.

Mons.

River Meuse.

NAMUR.
In possession of French.

River Sambre.

French under Boufflers.

Huy.
Confederates
Bradenburghers

gallant fight, effected a masterly retreat with trifling loss, and placed himself under the walls of Ghent. Meanwhile William pressed on the siege of Namur. Cohorn was with him. On the 2nd July, 1695, the trenches were opened; on the 8th the outworks on the Brussels side were taken by storm, William himself superintending the attack, the English, under Lord Cutts (nicknamed the Salamander), performing prodigies. The English, Dutch, and German troops, after fearful fighting, took on the 17th the first counterscarp of the town, on the 20th some strong works cut by Vauban in the solid rock from the Sambre to the Meuse, and on the twenty-third the second counterscarp. Boufflers, having lost 8,000 men, surrendered the town, and was allowed to retire to the citadel. William entered the town, and immediately invested the citadel. In the fight of the 17th Michael Godfrey, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, who had come to make some money arrangements, was killed by a cannon-ball, whilst William was remonstrating with him for being present where, as a civilian, he ought not to be.

Meanwhile Villeroy took Dixmude and Deynze, and, in violation of an existing treaty for exchange of prisoners, sent the two garrisons to France—a matter afterwards remembered, as will be seen. He then advanced upon Brussels, which he bombarded for thirty-six hours, expecting thereby to drawn off the Confederates from Namur for its defence; but the stratagem failed. William detached none of his investing army, and continued such an incessant and overpowering fire from his batteries upon all points of the citadel as to drive the French artillerymen from their guns. Villeroy, having failed to create a diversion, and having called in troops from various garrisons, advanced to Enghien, and thence, with 80,000 men, upon Namur. But by this time Vaudemont, no longer checked by Villeroy, had arrived at Namur from Ghent. William, therefore, leaving the conduct of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, took up a strong position on the west of the town, and there offered battle to the French advancing from Enghien. On the 15th August, 1695, Villeroy came in sight; but, finding William strongly posted, remained during the three following days without attacking, and during the night of the 19th fell back some miles. Thereupon, on the 19th, William sent orders to the Elector of Bavaria to storm without delay. Portland for

the last time summoned the garrison to surrender. This being refused, the assault was made in four places at once by four separate divisions—one point of attack being given to the Brandenburghers, the second to the Dutch, the third to the Bavarians, and the fourth to the English, amongst whom, of course, Cutts was conspicuous. After fearful fighting and the loss of 2,000 men, the Confederates made an extensive lodgment. The next day Boufflers requested a truce of forty-eight hours to bury the slain, which was granted. He then offered to capitulate if not relieved in ten days. This proposal was rejected, and he then surrendered upon the terms of the garrison being allowed to depart, resigning the citadel, artillery, and stores. Villeroy thereupon drew off his army, and marched to Mons. On the 26th August Boufflers and his garrison, now reduced to 5,000 men, marched past William and his staff with all the honours of war, drums beating and colours flying. After the procession had passed, Boufflers, as the commander of Namur, was, by order of William, arrested as his prisoner, on the ground that the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynze had, in violation of treaty, been sent prisoners to France. Boufflers was sent to Huy for a few days, and was liberated as soon as he was authorized by Louis to promise the release of those garrisons.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGNS IN IRELAND.

A BRIEF narrative of proceedings in Ireland has already been given in chapter V. The struggle in that country may be divided into three periods—the first, before the arrival of Schomberg; the second, during his campaign; the third, during William's campaign.

I. Before the arrival of Schomberg. As already stated, Ireland was virtually at war when William arrived in England in November, 1688. He was unable to despatch immediately troops and money to Ireland, although in the following account it will incidentally appear that he did what he could. The Protestant armed colonists occupied various points, but their principal strongholds were Enniskillen and Derry, otherwise Londonderry; both which places James and Tyrconnel wished to possess. In December, 1688, Tyrconnel's troops, being two companies of Popish infantry, advanced upon Enniskillen. The inhabitants, reinforced by 200 foot and 150 horse, contributed by the neighbouring gentry, marched out to oppose them. Tyrconnel's men fled to Cavan. The Enniskilleners, then, arming themselves as well as they could, and converting all the country houses round Lough Erne into garrisons, appointed Gustavus Hamilton their Governor, and resolved upon defence. As soon as the decision of the London Convention was known, Enniskillen and Derry proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen.

Early in May, 1689, the Enniskilleners routed Tyrconnel's troops, sent from Connaught into Donegal. They next drove 1,500 men out of the County Cavan—destroyed the Castle of Ballincarrig—and then entered the County Meath, whence they carried off oxen and sheep. Colonel Hugh Sutherland was sent with a regiment of dragoons and two regiments of

foot against the Enniskilleners, who, however, defeated them, and took Belturbet, where they found muskets, gunpowder, and provisions ; but unfortunately they were unable to relieve Derry, then beleaguered and sorely distressed. The Enniskilleners held out against all attacks, and refused all terms of surrender. They were now assailed from various points ; by Macarthy (then by James created Viscount Mountcashel) from the east, by another body from the west, and by the Duke of Berwick from the north. The Enniskilleners sent to Colonel Kirke, who had arrived in Lough Foyle, and received from him some arms and ammunition ; and Colonel Wolseley and Lieutenant-Colonel Berry came from him to their assistance. Colonel Wolseley took the command. Mountcashel besieged Crum Castle, the frontier garrison of the County Fermanagh ; whereupon Berry marched to its relief. He came upon thirteen troops of Mountcashel's Dragoons, commanded by Anthony Hamilton, but they galloped off at the first fire ; Hamilton was severely wounded. Mountcashel arrived to support Hamilton, and at the same time Wolseley arrived to support Berry. The two armies were now in presence of each other, Mountcashel having 5,000 men and artillery, Wolseley having 3,000 men, no artillery, and only one day's rations. Wolseley must, therefore, immediately fight, at all hazards, or immediately retreat. He put to his force the question, "Advance or Retreat?" The answer was made, or rather *shouted*, "Advance!" Wolseley gave as the word, "No Popery!" and immediately attacked. As he advanced the enemy retired. Wolseley, suspecting some trick, kept his ranks as on parade, but still advanced, whilst the enemy still retired. Thus the two bodies passed through the town of Newton Butler, about one mile beyond which the Irish halted, taking up a good position on a hill, at the foot of which was a bog. The cavalry could cross the bog only by a narrow, paved causeway, completely commanded by artillery. Wolseley's infantry struggled through the bog until they found firm ground, then rushed upon the enemy's cannons, which were well defended. Wolseley's cavalry now rode rapidly up the causeway. The Irish dragoons, who had fled in the morning, fled again ; the other Irish cavalry followed the example. The Irish infantry threw away their arms and ran ; in short, the whole Irish force was totally and hopelessly routed. Their slaughter was dreadful—1,500 killed, and 500 drowned

in Lough Erne, whither they were driven. Mountcashel was wounded and taken prisoner. The Enniskilleners lost only twenty killed and fifty wounded. They took 400 prisoners, some cannons, fourteen barrels of gunpowder, and all the colours and drums. This battle of Newton Butler, or rather of Kilgarret Hill, was won on the third day after the relief of Derry. The victory became known at Strabane to the Irish army retreating from Derry, which thereupon broke up in confusion and fled to Omagh, and thence to Charlemont. Sarsfield abandoned Sligo, which was immediately occupied by Kirke's troops. James and his friends in Dublin were appalled.

Derry.

Let us now see what meanwhile has been doing in Derry. Amongst the brave men who, between 1686 and 1688, were conspicuous in organizing the Protestant Colonists, was the Rev. George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore, in the County Tyrone. The urgent necessity of the time formed his apology for unprofessional employment. He raised a regiment at his own expense, and advised Lundy (then considered trustworthy) to secure Dungannon. Walker himself went to Derry, where a large number of Protestants had taken refuge.

Towards the end of 1688 the inhabitants became uneasy from the suspicious conduct of the priests and peasantry, and from a rumour that the 9th November was appointed for a general massacre of Protestants. In March, 1689, expecting to be besieged, they improved the defences of the city. About the same time Captain James Hamilton arrived from England with arms and ammunition, £1,000 in money, and a commission, signed by William and Mary, appointing Lundy Governor. On the other hand, the then Bishop of Derry, Ezekiel Hopkins, held and preached the doctrine of passive obedience to James, but his preaching was disregarded.

Twelve hundred Papists, commanded by Alexander Macdonnell, Earl of Antrim, now marched, by order of Tyrconnel, to occupy Derry. A detachment arrived before the city gates, produced a warrant from James, and demanded admittance and quarters. At this critical moment thirteen youths (apprentices) ran to the main guard, took arms, and

the keys of the city, closed the ferry gate in the face of the detachment, and lowered the portcullis, with the shout of "No Surrender!" These lads originated the Society still called the "Prentice Boys of Derry," and their glorious act of closing the gate is still annually celebrated. Antrim's party retired, and recrossed the river Foyle, which runs up to Derry. The whole population was now roused—the other gates were closed—sentinels were posted on the ramparts, muskets and ammunition distributed, and messengers sent to the neighbouring Protestant gentry, who immediately obeyed the summons, and within forty-eight hours assembled within the town. Antrim then retired to Coleraine.

Tyrconnel afterwards sent to Derry William Stewart, Viscount Mountjoy, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, and a Protestant popular in Ulster. He was readily admitted, and allowed to leave in the city a small garrison, exclusively Protestants, who were to be under Lundy, the then governor.

Mountjoy returned to Dublin. How he was subsequently treated by Tyrconnel, and how he died at Steinkirk, we have already seen. William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen. Lundy signed a declaration to stand by their Majesties under pain of being considered a coward and traitor. Shortly, however, he began to be suspected, and notwithstanding his declaration, he opened a secret communication with Tyrconnel, and undertook to surrender upon the arrival of James's army. At this time there were in Derry 30,000 Protestants, of both sexes and of all ages, combining Episcopalians and Presbyterians—a mixed multitude numerically inconvenient in case of siege. Colonel Philips was sent to England to request provisions and troops, the Irishers having again advanced within twelve miles.

On the 10th April Mr. Cairnes arrived from London, with a letter from William, stating his great concern for Ireland, especially for Ulster, and further stating that two regiments were ready to embark with arms and ammunition, and would be followed by an adequate force. Lundy's fidelity was now so much suspected that several officers were preparing to quit. Cairnes called a Council of War, before which he laid William's letter. The Council resolved "to stand by one another, and not desert the public service." This resolution was affixed to the market-house, and read

at the head of every battalion. It was received by the soldiers with the greatest satisfaction. Meanwhile James himself, having come over from France, set out for Derry with an army composed of Irish and French.

On the 15th April, 1689, Colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived from England in Lough Foyle, with ships having on board two veteran regiments, being those referred to in William's letter. On the next day they went, with nine other British officers, into Derry, where Lundy held a Council of War, consisting of sixteen members, including the eleven officers from England, but excluding all the principal officers of Derry. To this Council Lundy stated that there was not more than ten days' provisions for 3,000 men, that the enemy was 25,000 strong, that the place was untenable, and advised that it should be abandoned. Consequently, the eleven English officers resolved—"That, there not being provision for the garrison and the two additional English regiments, and the place being untenable, it was not convenient for his Majesty's service to land the two regiments; but, on the contrary, that it was most convenient that the principal officers should withdraw; that the inhabitants, by capitulation, might obtain better terms." Cunningham and Richards, with their two regiments, returned to England, where they were afterwards cashiered. These proceedings of the Council were kept secret. Lundy, to delude the garrison, stated that the English forces would be immediately landed, and that all would join in defence of the place. On the 17th April James in person advanced with his army to Saint John's town, within five miles of Derry, whence he sent to know whether the city would surrender on terms. He relied upon Lundy's treachery. On the 18th the proceedings of the Council became known to a few officers, who, considering the place betrayed, escaped, and embarked for England. The soldiers, enraged at the departure of their officers, mutinied, and killed Captain Bell, and wounded another officer, who were escaping to England. James and the French General, Rosen, with their Irish and French troops, now appeared before the town. Major Crofton, going the rounds by night, found the gates open and two of the keys missing, whereupon he doubled the guards, and changed the pass-word. Soon afterwards, James himself advanced close to the walls, expecting no resistance, but he was received with a shout of "No

Surrender!" and a volley, which killed one of his staff. Lundy and his private council were prepared to capitulate, but the garrison, having ascertained their inclination, threatened to hang Lundy, and offered to follow Captain (afterwards Colonel) Murray, who went to the main guard, seized the keys, and appointed fresh sentries on the walls and at the gates. Lundy, now finding himself detected, and even his life endangered, escaped—probably was allowed to escape—and went to Scotland, and thence to England, where he was arrested, and sent to the Tower. What ultimately became of him is not known. James withdrew for the present to Saint John's town, and there remained, expecting the surrender.

The Derry men now appointed the Reverend George Walker and Major Baker governors, who immediately organized the soldiers, amounting to 7,020 men, into regiments under eight colonels, of whom Murray was one. In twenty-four hours all was ready for a vigorous defence. The inhabitants were now reduced to 20,000, including the soldiers, by the departure of 10,000 non-combatants, who returned to their respective homes. This was a relief; but the town was badly fortified, the majority of the population were civilians, the garrison inadequate for all the duties required, the cannon too few, and the provisions insufficient.

On the 19th April a trumpeter came to the southern gate and inquired whether the engagement of the governor would be fulfilled? He was answered that the garrison knew of no engagement, and would resist to the last extremity. Next day Claude Hamilton Lord Strabane came with a flag of truce. Colonel Murray met him, and refused all proposals for surrender. The town was immediately invested and battered by cannon. James and Rosen returned to Dublin, consequently the command of the besieging army devolved upon the French general, Maumont, Richard Hamilton being second and Persignan third in command.

On the 21st the garrison made a sally under Murray, in which the enemy lost 200 killed, and amongst them Maumont. On the 25th April, and again on the 4th May, Murray made sallies. In the latter Persignan was killed, so that the command of James's army devolved on Richard Hamilton, of whom we have heard in the Fifth Chapter. Colonel Parker, afterwards concerned in Jacobite conspiracies, now deserted to James. There were various other

gallant sallies and skirmishes in May and June. On the 15th June an English fleet (thirty ships), with troops, commanded by Colonel (or Major-General) Kirke, and provisions, arrived in the Lough Foyle. Signals were made from the roof of Derry Cathedral and returned from the mastheads, but were not understood by either party. The fleet was favoured by wind and tide, and yet, during six weeks, continued inactive. Doubtless there were great difficulties in approaching Derry either by land or water, but the conduct and delay of Kirke have never been satisfactorily explained. The enemy now resolved to starve the garrison into surrender, and so arranged their troops as to prevent the introduction of food by land. They also commanded the River Foyle (which came up to the city) on both sides by their batteries, and at a narrow part, about one mile and a half from the walls, they formed a barricade across the stream. Boats filled with large stones were sunk, rows of stakes were driven into the bed of the river; and huge pieces of fir-wood, bound together and fastened at the extremities to each bank, formed a boom laid across. Thus access and provisions by water were intercepted. The prospect was gloomy and hopeless for Derry. The distress was agonizing; all ordinary food having been exhausted, ammunition insufficient, and the walls in some places breached. By the 8th June horse-flesh was the only meat, and even of that the supply was very scanty. Tallow was eaten, but there was not enough even of that. At the same time fever, dysentery, and other distempers occasioned fearful mortality. Amongst the deceased was Governor Baker, who was succeeded by Colonel Mitchelburn.

On the 19th June Hamilton was superseded by the French General, Rosen, who came from Dublin. Rosen first attempted to undermine the walls, but failed with the loss of 100 men killed. He then besieged the town more closely, firing upon it day and night, and threatening every kind of death and torture. The garrison again tried by signals to entreat the advance of Kirke's ships. At length James Roche, a seaman belonging to one of the ships, swam to Derry and brought intelligence that Kirke was in the fleet with men, provisions, and arms. Afterwards a boy brought two letters from Kirke to Governor Walker. Roche endeavoured to swim back with information to Kirke, but was fired at and wounded in the water, and with difficulty saved

himself. Another brave fellow, MacGimpsy, tried the same experiment, but was taken and hanged. Then a boy attempted to carry a letter, and, being taken, ate it up: he escaped. William made to Roche, as a reward, a grant of some forfeited land in Ireland, which was afterwards ungraciously recalled by the English Parliament under the Resumption Bill.

The garrison of Derry continued resolute, prohibiting the mere mention of surrender on pain of death. Rosen next tried an atrocious experiment. On the 30th June he published a notice to the Governors, "that, if they did not surrender by the 1st July, he would gather together all their faction and drive them under the walls, where they should starve." The garrison treated the notice with contempt. Rosen enforced his threat. His soldiers stripped and drove before them the whole population for thirty miles round, not sparing even nursing women, babes, and decrepit persons. These, to the number of 4,000, without clothes or food, were kept between the enemy and the walls of Derry to starve. But even this experiment failed. The sufferers themselves encouraged the garrison not to surrender, and the garrison erected a gallows on the ramparts, and gave notice to Rosen that they would hang the prisoners if their friends were not sent away. At length these poor starved people were allowed to return home, after having been kept under the walls three days without food or shelter. Many died under the walls, and many more on the road home, and those who reached home found perfect desolation, the soldiers and rapparees having plundered and destroyed everything. Rosen was now recalled to Dublin, and Hamilton again commanded James's army. He falsely told the Derry men that Enniskillen had surrendered, and exhorted them to follow the example. The Derry men required that they should be allowed to depart by land or by water as they pleased, and demanded hostages for the fulfilment of these terms. The conference was broken off and hostilities recommenced.

In July, 1689, the garrison was frightfully reduced; the scarcity of even the vilest and most revolting eatables was appalling, fearful disease raged, and the air was poisoned by the stench of dead bodies which could not be buried. The soldiers were scarcely able to totter to their posts. Still Kirke moved not, though his ships continued visible; but

he now received from William peremptory orders to relieve Derry. On the 30th July three ships approached the town —the *Mountjoy*, of Derry, commanded by Captain Browning; the *Phœnix*, of Coleraine, commanded by Captain Douglas, both laden with provisions; and the *Dartmouth* frigate, acting as convoy. Through a fearful fire from both banks of the river these three ships persevered; the boom was broken by collision with Browning's ship, was passed by all the ships, and Derry was relieved. Of the seven thousand four hundred men and officers who were formed into regiments only four thousand three hundred were alive. Amidst the general joy there was one sad recollection—the gallant Browning, who broke the boom, had been killed on board his ship. On the 31st July, at night, the French and Irish retired in great confusion, and in their retreat desolated the country wherever it was not already desolated. The fugitives received punishment from Wolseley's army after the battle of Newton Butler, as already mentioned.

The siege of Derry lasted one hundred and eight days. James's army contained twenty thousand men supplied from Dublin, besides rapparees and irregulars; and lost between eight and nine thousand men and one hundred officers.

In August Walker, carrying an address of thanks to William, arrived in London, where (as before related) he was cordially received.

The names of the thirteen apprentices who closed the gates of Derry deserve to be historically recorded. They were:—

Henry Campsie	Alexander Irwin,
William Crookshanks,	Robert Morison,
Daniel Sherrard,	Samuel Hunt,
James Stewart,	John Cunningham,
Alexander Cunningham,	Samuel Harvey,
James Spike,	William Cairns.
Robert Sherrard,	

CHAPTER XXII.

SCHOMBERG'S CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.

On the 13th August, 1689, Schomberg landed in the north of Ulster. He brought not more than ten thousand men, but expected to be reinforced by the armed colonists and by Kirke's contingent. He advanced to Carrickfergus, held by infantry for James, which, in a week, surrendered. Thence he marched to Lisburn; thence through a desolated country to Loughbrickland, where he was joined by three regiments of Enniskilleners; thence towards Dublin. He reached Dundalk. Meanwhile the Irish forces were collecting from all points; and on the 10th September James was at Drogheda with twenty thousand fighting men, besides a large rabble composed of camp followers, and of irregulars resembling banditti. Thus James and Schomberg were within twenty miles of each other. James's experienced French General, Rosen, who could not, brute though he was, be suspected of cowardice, opposed fighting, and even advised James to fall back, and, if necessary, to abandon Dublin, and make a stand at Athlone, sixty miles west of Dublin, awaiting there the expected French troops, rather than hazard his whole cause upon one immediate battle. He saw that the Irish infantry was bad, and believed Schomberg's troops, fresh from England, to be all good. On the contrary, James, Tyrconnel, and the Irish unanimously advocated fighting. On the other side the wary and experienced Schomberg was actuated by similar feelings. He saw the composition and condition of his own army, which in number did not exceed one-half of the enemy; he had good Dutch and French Huguenot troops; a body of Enniskilleners, brave as lions, and with some amount of irregular military training; but the majority of his English were mere raw recruits, even ignorant of their drill and the

management of their horses, and commanded by inexperienced young officers. In addition he found the commissariat in an infamous state, notwithstanding the liberality with which the English Parliament had voted supplies. Henry Shales, the commissary-general, had swindled and robbed the nation and the army. The provisions could not be eaten, the tents were rotten, the clothing insufficient; the soldiers' shoes and horses, though paid for in England, not arrived. One defeat at the commencement would be fatal to his master's cause. For all these reasons he resolved to remain on the defensive until his men were properly drilled and prepared, and until sufficient reinforcements, clothing, and other supplies should arrive. He therefore encamped and entrenched himself near Dundalk, so that he could neither be successfully attacked nor compelled to fight. James, disregarding Rosen's advice, advanced to Ardee, and offered battle with his whole army. Schomberg, however, would not be forced to engage. During several weeks, with the enemy only a few miles distant, he remained in his camp inaccessible, constantly drilling and practising his men. And now commenced his fearful trials. First, amongst his French troops there had crept in some scoundrels, deserters in Flanders from Louis's army, pretending to be Protestants, who had corresponded with the French Ambassador, Avaux, and engaged in the first battle to go over to James. Their letters were intercepted—the whole plot was discovered. Of the conspirators, six were hanged as leaders, and two hundred were sent in irons to England. Next, pestilence broke out. The autumnal rains had commenced, and were unusually heavy; the camp became a swamp. The Enniskilleners and the Dutch, accustomed to a wet climate, suffered comparatively little. The English soldiers were carried off with awful rapidity by an epidemic, and the survivors were so debilitated as to be nearly useless. The sick, so far as practicable, were sent away to Belfast Hospital and to sea; but six thousand from first to last died. Early in November, 1689, James's army broke up and went into winter quarters. Schomberg then broke up his camp, and quartered the wreck of his army for the winter in towns and villages of Ulster. He fixed his headquarters at Lisburn.

Opinions as to his Fabian policy varied in England, where a rapid success had been expected. Harris says, "If he had

pushed matters and proved unfortunate, his whole army, and consequently Ireland, would have been lost, for he could not have made a regular retreat through a wasted country, and without any garrisons at hand. The sure way of acting was to preserve his army, which would secure Ulster, and keep matters entire for another year; and, therefore, though his conduct was blamed by some, yet better judges thought his management of this campaign one of the greatest parts of his life" (p. 247).

In March, 1690, seven thousand four hundred Danes, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, arrived at Belfast to reinforce Schomberg, who, on the 14th May, reopened the campaign by taking Charlemont, the last important place occupied by James. Afterwards James's army abandoned Dundalk, Ardee, Castle Blayney, and Carrickmacross, leaving Ulster free. Schomberg then awaited the arrival of William.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WILLIAM'S CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.

ON the 14th of June, 1690, William landed near Carrickfergus, whence he proceeded to Belfast, where he was joined by Schomberg, the Prince of Wurtemberg, Major-General Kirke, and other superior officers. William issued strict orders against plundering, and for peaceable behaviour in quarters. James had in the field and in garrisons 50,271 men. According to another account (Harris, p. 266), he had 40,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry in the field, and 24,000 men in different garrisons.

James was now marching to Ardee, to prevent William's advance upon Dublin. William inspected his whole army, consisting of 36,000 English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Brandenburghers, all well appointed, at Loughbrickland, whence he marched to Dundalk, and thence to Ardee. James fell back from Ardee, and recrossed the Boyne, and then made a stand on the south side of the river. On the 30th June, 1690, at daybreak, William moved his whole army in three columns towards the Boyne, four miles distant. Having reconnoitred the enemy, he advanced to the River Pass, at the village of Old Bridge Town, where he was fired upon and wounded in the right shoulder by a cannon-ball, but not seriously. On the night of the 30th William held a council of war, and announced his intention to cross the Boyne the next morning. He ordered his army to march at daybreak, and every soldier to wear a green sprig in his hat to distinguish him from the enemy. Amongst William's officers and staff were Duke Schomberg, Count Schomberg, Prince George of Hesse, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Manchester, Portland, and Scarborough, and Auverquerque. Amongst James's officers and staff were the Duke of Berwick, Lauzun, Tyrconnel, and Sarsfield.

On the 1st July, 1690, the important Battle of the Boyne was fought. We give a slight sketch of the positions :

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

WILLIAM'S ARMY.

Slane Bridge.

A B C D

RIVER BOYNE

Old Bridge Ford.

A, B, C, D, points where the English Army crossed the River.

Donore.

JAMES'S ARMY.

Duleek

James's camp was advantageously posted. Soon after four o'clock in the morning both armies were in motion. William's right wing, consisting of infantry and cavalry, commanded by Count Schomberg, Lieutenant-General Douglas, Portland, and Auverquerque, marched to the Bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there and turn the left flank of the enemy. Sir Neill O'Neill's dragoons attempted to oppose their passage, but were driven back with the loss of their colonel. The English, having crossed the river at this point, advanced towards the enemy's main body, drawn up in two lines. Four miles south of the Boyne was a village called Duleek, where the direct road to Dublin was extremely narrow, and on both sides of the road was a morass. If the English right wing occupied that point, commanding the retreat upon Dublin, the Irish must surrender or be annihilated. Consequently Lauzun, with the French infantry and Sarsfield's cavalry, had hastened towards Slane Bridge, to prevent the enemy crossing, and to cover Duleek, and thus the fords near Old Bridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone. Count Schomberg, having passed the river at Slane Bridge, and finding the enemy drawn up in two lines, made the same formation; but having only six battalions of foot to twenty-four squadrons of horse, he (by the advice of Portland) intermingled his horse and foot for greater security. Having afterwards received a reinforcement of infantry, he altered this arrangement, placed all his horse on the right, and sent his foot towards a bog on the left, lying between them and the enemy, and through which cavalry could not pass. The enemy retreated towards Duleek, pursued by Count Schomberg's cavalry, who committed great slaughter. About ten o'clock A.M. William put himself at the head of his left wing, composed entirely of cavalry, and proceeded to cross the Boyne not far above Drogheda. Meanwhile the centre of his army, under Duke Schomberg, composed almost entirely of infantry, was marshalled opposite to Old Bridge, at which point was collected the whole of the Irish troops, horse and foot, except Sarsfield's regiment, which had gone with Lauzun, as before mentioned. Duke Schomberg gave the word; and the troops marched cheerfully to the brink of the river, which they were to wade. The Dutch Blue Guards Solmes's first entered the stream, ten abreast; next entered the Derrymen and Enniskilleners; a little to their left came Cailie-

mote and his French refugees, and again a little to their left the main body of the English infantry, wading up to their shoulders. As these troops landed they engaged and repulsed James's troops. During their passage through the water Richard Hamilton attacked them, but could not prevent their landing. At the ford of Old Bridge the Irish were strongly posted, protected by a slated-roof house filled with soldiers. The Dutch Blue Guards, having landed under a heavy fire, drew up two deep, and drove the Irish from their entrenchments. Hamilton brought up his cavalry against them, but was driven back. Hamilton's cavalry in their retreat attacked William's French infantry, and broke through the regiments of La Caillemote and Cambon, but were afterwards intercepted by the Dutch and Enniskillen infantry, and annihilated. By this time the Dutch Guards had advanced into the open field; the Irish poured down upon them; the Dutch maintained their ground and routed the Irish. Some cavalry advancing to support the Irish were repulsed by the French Huguenots and the Enniskilleners; La Caillemote, commanding the French, was mortally wounded. Meanwhile the Danes were led up to the left, and the brigades of Hanmer and La Melloniere to the right. The Danes were bravely attacked by Hamilton's cavalry, and driven back; some of them even repassed the river. Duke Schomberg, who had hitherto acted the General on the north bank of the Boyne, seeing this disorder, and also that the French Huguenots had lost their leader, hastily passed the river to head the Danes and French himself. He rode up to the French Huguenots uttering the words, "Allons, messieurs, voilà vos persecuteurs," when some of James's cavalry guards, returning at full speed from their previous defeat, fell upon him and gave him two wounds, not mortal, on the head. The regiment of Cambon then fired rashly upon these guards, and unintentionally shot the Duke through the neck, and killed him. Soon afterwards the brave George Walker, just created Bishop of Derry, was shot. At this crisis William arrived, and led the left wing of his cavalry against the enemy. The Irish retreated to the village of Donore, about half a mile from the pass, where they faced about, and forced William's cavalry back. William then headed the Enniskilleners, by whom he was in danger of being shot by mistake. Duke Schomberg's own regiment of cavalry, composed of French Protestants,

and General Ginkell and the dragoons of Sir Albert Cunningham and of Levison, joined in the *mêlée*, and after a sharp fight of half an hour the Irish were driven back with considerable loss. Richard Hamilton was taken prisoner and brought before William, who treated him contemptuously, but took no further notice of his former treachery. Count Schomberg, enraged by the death of his father, drove the enemy several miles beyond Duleek with great slaughter. By this time James's army was completely defeated and put to the rout.

And now Lauzun represented to James (who during the whole battle had remained on the hill of Donore) that he would soon be surrounded, and must retire. James went to Duleek, and thence in great haste to Dublin, attended by Sarsfield's regiment. Count Lauzun, Sheldon and other officers conducted the retreat. Thus ended the Battle of the Boyne, in which James lost fifteen hundred men, William five hundred. Harris says, "His Majesty (William) acted the part of the greatest general; he chose the field, disposed the attack, drew up the army, charged the enemy several times, supported his forces when they began to shrink, and behaved throughout with that conduct, carriage, resolution, and presence of mind, and was such a poise for inclining victory to his own side, that the Irish themselves declared 'that if the English would change Kings they would fight the battle over again.'"

According to Macaulay, the Irish made a poor fight, and ran off, throwing away their arms; according to Harris, they made a much better fight. Macaulay seems to us to have trusted too much to the letters of French officers, who, being naturally piqued by their defeat, would endeavour to throw the blame on their allies the Irish.

First Siege of Limerick.

On the 8th August, 1690, William, having taken Waterford, advanced with twenty thousand men upon Limerick, in which place the French and Irish had taken refuge after their defeat at the Boyne. Lauzun and Tyrconnel, with the French troops, withdrew to Galway, alleging that Limerick was untenable, and yet Harris describes it as "very strong by nature, and assisted by art, being fortified by strong walls, bastions, and ramparts, and defended by a castle and citadel"

(p. 285); and it would be difficult to prevent supplies being thrown in. The Duke of Berwick, Sarsfield (who was a gallant officer), and the Governor, Boisseleau (a Frenchman), resolved to defend the place. It seemed hazardous to besiege Limerick "in a season subject to long rains which might swell the Shannon and render the soil (the deepest in Ireland) impassable for heavy carriages," especially as William had not a proper siege and battering train. But artillery, ammunition, provisions, and tin boats were coming from Dublin, escorted by Colonel Villars' horse, and the retirement of the French had greatly weakened and dispirited the garrison

On the 9th August William summoned the place to surrender, but in vain. The garrison proceeded to improve their defences; the besiegers to make their batteries. The advance of the English artillery being betrayed by deserters, Sarsfield, with five hundred horse, surprised the escort in the night, exploded the ammunition, ruined the cannon, and destroyed the pontoons. Sir John Lanier, who was sent by William to intercept Sarsfield, arrived too late. Moreover, a large supply of ammunition shipped in the Thames had not yet arrived. Nevertheless William closely pressed the siege. The trenches were opened on the 17th August, and the outward redoubts were taken. On the 20th and 21st there was sharp fighting. On the 26th a breach was effected, which could not be improved. The wet season had now commenced, and there was danger of pestilence like that at Dundalk. A Council of war was held, at which it was determined to make one grand assault, and, if it failed, to abandon the siege. On the 27th August five hundred grenadiers rushed from the English trenches to the counterscarp, fired their pieces, and threw grenades. The Irish gave way, and were pursued by the assailants, who entered the town. Then followed a furious street fight; the Irish rallied, and ultimately the English grenadiers were driven back with great loss. A German battalion was blown into the air by the explosion of a mine. This fierce fight continued for four hours. Late in the evening the besiegers retired to their camp. William raised the siege. On the 30th August the heavy baggage and cannon were sent off, and the next day the army withdrew towards Clonmel without being followed or impeded. "Nothing could have induced the King to raise the siege but the season of the year and the nature of the country, which in those parts is so subject to be overflowed

that the soldiers could no longer abide in the trenches in wet weather." The number of killed and wounded of the besiegers was between one thousand and twelve hundred.

Capture of Athlone, 1691.

There were two attacks upon Athlone. In July, 1690, after the battle of the Boyne, William divided his army. He sent one part, comprising three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and ten of infantry, under Lieutenant-General Douglas, to Athlone, an important military point. Douglas, on the 17th July, summoned the place; but the Governor, Colonel Grace, refused to surrender. Douglas resolved to attack, although the place was strong by nature and defended by a castle. The town, which was situate partly in Leinster and partly in Connaught, was surrounded by earth ramparts. It was divided by the River Shannon, a strong and rapid stream, into two parts, being the so-called English quarter in Leinster and the Irish quarter in Connaught. Before the arrival of Douglas, the eastern or English quarter, being considered indefensible, had been burnt, and the bridge connecting the two parts of the town had been partly broken down. Above the bridge, on the Connaught side, was a castle seventy feet high and extending two hundred feet along the river. Fifty or sixty yards below the bridge was a narrow ford. The garrison retired over the river, and took up a position in the western or Irish quarter, where they erected various works and batteries. Sarsfield was advancing to their relief. On the 25th July, 1690, after a council of war, Douglas raised the siege, having lost thirty men killed and about three hundred by sickness.

Afterwards, in June, 1691, General Ginkell, having taken Ballymore, where he left a garrison, and having been joined by the Duke of Wurtemberg and by Count Nassau, with Danish auxiliaries, advanced upon Athlone. The French General, St. Ruth, then commanding the Irish army, was encamped near the place, confident that it could not be taken. On the 19th June Ginkell carried, with trifling loss, the eastern or English town, which in the preceding year the garrison had abandoned, but now attempted to defend. The Irish ran to the bridge, which was very narrow—some were crushed and some forced over the parapet and drowned.

Colonel Wolseley now arrived, bringing from Ballymore eleven guns and three mortars. A battery was raised at the foot of the bridge, and several batteries were planted against the Irish town and played vigorously upon the castle. Between Ginkell and the Irish quarter ran the Shannon, the before-mentioned bridge across which could be defended by a few resolute men, two mills built upon it were garrisoned, and it was commanded and protected by the castle; also one arch had been broken down by the garrison. The point of the Connaught shore where the river was fordable was protected by works. On the 23rd Ginkell's fire had destroyed part of the castle, but the bridge was still defended. Ginkell endeavoured to fill up the gap occasioned by the destruction of the arch by placing beams and planks, but was prevented by the well-sustained fire of the enemy, who also threw the beams and planks into the water. Ginkell then resolved to cross the river in three divisions—one to pass over the bridge when the gap was covered, the second to wade through the water at a point one hundred and fifty feet above the bridge, and the third to pass over by a bridge of rafts and pontoons about nine hundred feet above that point. It was ascertained that at the point of immersion and thence to the landing-point the water would not be more than breast-high of the waders, in like manner as the depth of the ditch (the River Cavary) round Seringapatam was, in 1799, during the night before the assault ascertained by an Engineer officer, Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) Norris, by himself wading across. On the twenty-ninth the English attack was delayed, the pontoons not being ready, and the plan was betrayed to the enemy by deserters; whereupon St. Ruth marched his troops into the town, but soon afterwards withdrew them and returned to his camp, supposing that the English had abandoned their scheme. On the 30th the attack was successfully made. One party of the besiegers waded, another party made up the gap of the bridge and so crossed, and the third party crossed by pontoons. In half an hour the Irish town was captured, with the loss to the captors of only twelve killed and thirty wounded.

St. Ruth was in his camp infatuated. When informed by an express that the English were actually passing the river, he answered "that it was impossible for them to pretend to take a town and he so near to succour," ridiculed the idea, and refused to send any troops. When too late he sent some

detachments to dislodge them, which proved impossible. He broke up his camp, and retired during the night to Aghrim, about thirty miles on the Galway road, and there took up a position near a ruined castle. "It would be difficult," says Harris (p. 320), "from history to parallel so brave an enterprise as this, in which three thousand men attacked a fortified town across a rapid river, in face of a numerous army, who by their intrenchments were masters of all the fords; and therefore it was but just that General Ginkell should entail in his family the honour of this achievement by the title of Earl of Athlone afterwards conferred upon him." A medal was struck to commemorate the capture of Athlone. We now come to the

Battle of Aghrim.

Ginkell, having prepared Athlone for defence and for reception of stores from Dublin and Mullingar, advanced upon St. Ruth, whom he found strongly and advantageously posted near the ruined Castle of Aghrim, about three miles south of Ballinasloe, in the County Galway. On the 11th July, 1691, Ginkell fixed his head-quarters at Ballinasloe, whence he rode out and reconnoitred the enemy's position. St. Ruth's camp, about two miles in length along the ridge of a hill, was bounded on the right by a church and on the left by a rivulet, hills, and bog. Near these was a large red bog one mile across, at the end of which was Aghrim Castle. This bog extended in front of the camp and towards the right, so that St. Ruth's army was nearly surrounded by morass, over which, on the left at Aghrim, was one pass, and on the right at Urachree was another pass for cavalry, and nowhere else; infantry must struggle through the bog as best they could. On the ridge of the hill were two forts, and breastworks had been thrown up between the edge of the bog and the ridge, so that when the bog was passed the breastworks must be stormed.

On the 12th July, at six in the morning, the English army marched for Aghrim. A thick fog came on, and for some hours impeded the advance; at length the English reached the edge of the bog, about five in the afternoon, and immediately began the attack. The infantry made their way as best they could, struggling through the morass up to the

breastworks in front of the enemy's line, which were stoutly defended. Several times the English were repulsed; as often they returned. Once they were broken, and would have been driven entirely across the morass, had not Talmash rallied them and forced the Irish back. At this critical moment Mackay and Ruvigny, with the British and French Huguenot Cavalry, passed over the bog at a place where they could ride only singly or only two abreast. They speedily turned the flank of the Irish army. St. Ruth, riding up hastily to meet the difficulty, was killed by a cannon-ball. His death was concealed. Sarsfield, commanding the reserve, had been ordered by St. Ruth not to stir without orders, and so did nothing. Mackay and Ruvigny with their cavalry charged the enemy in flank, and Talmash with his infantry renewed the attack in front. The breastworks were carried, and the enemy driven from point to point until they were entirely broken, and fled. The slaughter was fearful. An English colonel (Herbert), taken prisoner, was reported to have been slain, and this banished all merciful feelings. Fortunately the night was dark, whereby many escaped. Only 400 prisoners were taken. The killed were calculated variously at 4,000 and 7,000. The English had 600 killed and 1,000 wounded. The English with their allies were 20,000, and the Irish 25,000. St. Ruth, before the battle, delivered an address to his soldiers, which is fully set out in Kennett, vol. iii. p. 627, and which concluded by strictly ordering "to give quarter to none, especially not to spare any of the French heretics in the service of the Prince of Orange." He could, therefore, scarcely expect mercy. The routed army broke up into two bodies of mere rabble; one body hurrying towards Galway, and the other towards Limerick.

Galway.

Ginkell in a few days marched against Galway, where the French General D'Usson commanded, having the remains of seven regiments defeated at Aghrim, disorganised and demoralised. Baldearg O'Donnel, the alleged descendant of an ancient native king or chief, who had appeared amongst the Irish during the first siege of Limerick, was expected with reinforcements, but he had made

a sordid bargain with Ginkell, and sold himself and his regal claims for a pension, and came not. D'Usson then saw that defence was hopeless, and surrendered on terms, the garrison to march out with the honours of war and go to Limerick, a general amnesty, Romish priests to be allowed to practise their religion in private. D'Usson and 2,300 men marched to Limerick, whither they were speedily followed.

Limerick—Second Siege.

After the capture of Galway, Tyrconnel, having returned from France, was in Limerick, which he endeavoured to prepare for defence. Fifteen thousand infantry were in the town, and three or four thousand cavalry and dragoons were in camp outside the town on the Clare side of the Shannon. A bridge, called the Thomond Bridge, protected by a fort, formed the communication between the two bodies. On the 11th August, 1691, Tyrconnel died of apoplexy, whereupon the government and defence of Limerick devolved upon the French General D'Usson and the Irish General Sarsfield. On the same day Ginkell arrived He raised batteries mounted with guns of proper size and calibre (which was not the case in the former siege), and played upon the town day and night, causing great destruction. Several English ships of war came up the Shannon and anchored a mile below the city. Nevertheless the garrison held out. Ginkell then determined to cut off the enemy's cavalry in camp without the city from his infantry within the city. He therefore crossed the river by a bridge of tin boats, drove the cavalry from their camp, and stormed the fort which protected Thomond Bridge. All communication between Limerick and the County Clare was thus prevented. After this there was within the city a general demand for surrender. Doubtless the defeats at the Boyne, Athlone, Aghrim, and Galway had depressed the national spirit and induced this result. Moreover, provisions were nearly exhausted, a blockade would produce starvation, and capture by storm would entail frightful slaughter and rigorous terms to the few survivors. On the English side a blockade might, and probably would, produce pestilence, and in the ensuing

spring a French army might possibly arrive. D'Usson and Sarsfield agreed that resistance must cease; Ginkell and Ruvigny were willing to treat. Accordingly an interview took place between Sarsfield and Ruvigny. Ginkell, having received Ruvigny's report, granted an armistice. The garrison then proposed their terms, to this effect:—"An amnesty for all past offences; perfect freedom of worship; every parish to have its Roman Catholic priest; Irish Roman Catholics to be capable of holding all offices, civil, military, and municipal, and to exercise all professions and trades; restoration of the Irish to such estates as they had before the Revolution; the Irish army to be kept up and paid, if willing to serve against France." Ginkell replied that "what they asked was inconsistent with the Constitution, and therefore he could not consent," and prepared to renew the fire on the city. A deputation waited upon him, begging him to state his terms. He sent back draft articles of capitulation. The garrison accepted the proposed terms. It was then arranged that there should be a cessation of fighting by land, and also in the bays and ports of Munster, and that French transports should be allowed to enter and depart from the Shannon. The treaty itself could not be signed until the arrival from Dublin of the Lords Justices Coningsby and Porter. On the 1st October, 1691, they arrived. Next day the articles of capitulation were settled, and on the 3rd October were signed. They were divided into two parts—the military treaty, which was executed only by the generals on both sides, and the civil treaty, which was executed by the Lords Justices and Ginkell on the first part, and the Earl of Lucan and others representing the Irish inhabitants of Limerick and other places on the second part. These treaties were ratified and confirmed by William on the 24th February following. The documents will be found in full in Harris, Appendix, Numbers lxiii., lxiv.

The principal terms of the military treaty were to this effect:—1. Irish officers and soldiers wishing to go to France to be conveyed thither. 2. Ginkell to furnish some transports, and French ships to be allowed to come as transports. 3. Part of Limerick to be immediately delivered into the possession of the English, another part to remain for the present in the possession of the Irish. The civil treaty contained a promise that the Irish Roman Catholics should

enjoy such privileges in the exercise of religion as were consistent with the law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second. To all civilians and soldiers taking the oath of allegiance a complete amnesty; such persons to retain their property and to exercise any profession which they had previously exercised, and not to be punished for any treason, felony, misdemeanour, spoliation, or outrage. These terms of the civil treaty, exceeding the constitutional powers of the Lords Justices, were to be subject to Parliamentary ratification.

The English entered Limerick, and occupied one part separated by a branch of the Shannon from the part still occupied by the Irish. The Irish troops were afterwards put to their election to remain in Ireland or go to France. Of the infantry 1,000 entered the service of William, 2,000 went to their homes, and 11,000 elected to go to France. Most of the cavalry also preferred France. The whole of the city of Limerick was then delivered up to Ginkell.

A few days after the capitulation a French fleet sent for the relief of Limerick, with 3,000 troops, arrived in Dingle Bay. Two medals were struck to commemorate the surrender of Limerick and the final reduction of Ireland. The latter had the inscription, *Hibernia devicta in gratiam recepta*, 1691.

Harris says, "The Irish were urged by the French during the treaty to insist on very high terms, in hopes they would be rejected; but the King having given Ginkell secret directions to grant them any reasonable terms they could desire, in order to finish the war, he sent them articles so favourable that a capitulation was soon agreed upon."

When Ginkell arrived in London in December, 1691, "the Parliament was so sensible of his great services that the House of Commons thanked him and his officers for the reduction of Ireland." He was soon after, namely, by patent dated the 4th March, created Baron of Aghrim and Earl of Athlone. To enable him the better to support his honours he afterwards obtained a grant of the forfeited estates of Lord Slane and of the Earl of Limerick, not a large grant, which was continued to him by the Irish Parliament, but which was subsequently ungraciously recalled by the English Act of Resumption.

There were several smaller, although important battles

and captures, such as Waterford and the Fort of Duncannon, on the 25th August, 1690; Cork, on the 28th September; Kinsale, a few days afterwards; Drogheda, Mullingar, Ballymore, Sligo, and other places. We only narrate the principal conflicts. With the fall of Limerick the war in Ireland terminated.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SEA FIGHTS.

Bantry Bay.

On the 1st May, 1689, a battle, or rather a skirmish, took place between the French fleet of twenty-eight sail, commanded by Admiral the Count of Chateau Renaud, and the English fleet, commanded by Admiral Herbert, who had been sent to prevent communication between Brittany and Ireland. Herbert, being informed that James had landed in Ireland, sailed for that coast with only twelve ships, commanding the others to follow him as they could, and appointed the rendezvous on the coast of Ireland or ten leagues west of Scilly. He arrived before Cork on the 17th April, and there learned that James had landed at Kinsale on the 12th March. He then cruised in the hope of finding the French ships which brought him over. At length, on the 29th April, he discovered near Kinsale a fleet of forty-four sail, of which he lost sight the next day. He bore away for Cape Clear, and in the evening saw them standing in for Bantry Bay. His fleet, by arrival of single ships, had now increased to twenty-two. Herbert worked up within two miles of the French, when they bore down on him in line. The *Defiance*, leading the English van, engaged the corresponding French ship, and the skirmish extended to the remaining ships. A running fight continued until five o'clock in the afternoon, when the French ships tacked and stood in towards shore, considerably damaged, and the English ships had suffered much in masts and rigging. Thus the affair ended. The English lost ninety-four men killed and 250 wounded. Herbert went to the rendezvous off Scilly, hoping there to obtain additional strength, so as to pursue the enemy; being disappointed, he returned to Spit-

head. Renaud sailed to Brest. Both sides claimed the victory, very absurdly treating it as if a line-of-battle and regular engagement. The English House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to Herbert, whom the King created Earl of Torrington. At Dublin James ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung, and there were great rejoicings in France. Captains John Ashby and Cloudesley Shovel were knighted by William.

Battle of Beachy Head.

In June, 1690, whilst William was in Ireland, the French sent a fleet, under Tourville, to threaten England. He left Brest, and entered the British Channel. Herbert (then Earl of Torrington) commanded the English fleet lying in the Downs, and sailed to Saint Helens, where he was joined by the Dutch fleet under Evertsen. On the 26th June the English and French fleets were close to each other, and an important engagement was expected, when unexpectedly Torrington abandoned the Isle of Wight and retreated towards the Straits of Dover. William was at this time in Flanders. The Queen and her Council, receiving this intelligence, sent to Torrington peremptory orders to fight. Torrington received these orders on the 29th June. Next day he bore down on the French fleet in order of battle. He had less than sixty ships of the line, whilst the French had eighty. He placed the Dutch in the van, and during the whole fight rendered them little or no assistance. He gave the signal to engage, which was immediately obeyed by Evertsen, who fought with the most splendid courage, but at length, being unsupported, his second in command and many other officers of high rank having fallen, and his ships being fearfully shattered, Evertsen was obliged to draw off his contingent from the unequal battle. Torrington destroyed some of these injured ships, took the remainder in tow, and sailed along the coast of Kent for the Thames. When in that river he pulled up all the buoys to prevent pursuit. The conduct of Torrington admits no satisfactory explanation. He was loose and immoral, but brave and skilful; his conduct therefore cannot be attributed to cowardice or ignorance. Possibly he entertained an ungenerous dislike to the Dutch; possibly he was annoyed at being peremptorily ordered to fight, and therefore sulkily fought without caring for the result. Upon his

return to London he was sent to the Tower, and in December was tried at Sheerness by court-martial, and on the third day was acquitted; but William refused to see him, and ordered him to be dismissed from the navy.

La Hogue.

The battle usually called La Hogue was in fact a series of engagements during five or six days, terminating at La Hogue in France. The French Admiral, Tourville, with forty-four ships of the line (without waiting for his junction with D'Estrees and the Toulon squadron), sailed from Brest in a north-easterly direction until he arrived off the coast of Dorsetshire, intending to give battle to the English if he met them, not knowing that the English and Dutch fleets had joined. From Dorsetshire he sailed across the English Channel towards La Hogue, whence he was to convoy the French army then embarking in transports for the invasion of England. On the 17th May, 1692, Russell, hearing that the masts of Tourville's squadron had been seen from the cliffs of Portland, immediately sailed from St. Helen's, Isle of Wight, in pursuit. On the 19th May, when near Barfleur, Tourville, at daybreak, saw the English and Dutch fleet approaching. He immediately bore down upon them, and at eleven o'clock the battle commenced. After five hours' hard fighting the French retreated, followed by the English and Dutch fleet. Tourville fought his own ship, the *Royal Sun*, gallantly. His fleet was scattered in all directions over the channel, and made the best of their way for the coast of Normandy. About twenty of the smallest ships escaped through the dangerous passage called the Race of Alderney, through which the enemy could not safely follow. These arrived at Saint Maloes. The French ships too large to attempt the Race of Alderney sought safety in the harbours of the Cotentin. The *Royal Sun* and two other three-deckers, closely chased by an English squadron under Delaval, escaped to Cherburg. The *Ambitious* and twelve other ships, some first and other second rate, got into the Bay of La Hogue, close to the head-quarters of James's army. Now came the most desperate part of the action. The three ships at Cherburg were hauled up into shoal water where no man-of-war could follow them. Delaval therefore with fire-ships and boats attacked and burnt to

ashes the *Royal Sun* and her two companions; part of their crews escaped to the French shore, and part were taken prisoners. Meanwhile Russell blockaded the Bay of La Hogue. Here also the French ships of war had been drawn up into shallow water so as to be inaccessible by large vessels. They were close to the army intended for the invasion of England. Six of them were moored under the guns of a fort named Lisset, and the remainder under the guns of another fort named Saint Vaast, where James had his head-quarters. Also Marshal Bellefonds had planted several batteries, which would, as he supposed, render attack impossible. On the 23rd May, notwithstanding these formidable defences, Russell sent to destroy the ships a flotilla of sloops, fire-ships, and 200 boats, commanded by Rooke. First Rooke attacked the six ships under Fort Lisset. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats and repel the enemy, but they were panic-struck and fled; the cannonade from Fort Lisset did no damage; the infantry regiments on the beach, after a few volleys, retired; the ships were abandoned, were boarded and set on fire by the English, who, without the loss of one man, returned with the ebbing tide. The next morning Rooke came again with the flowing tide with 200 boats. The French vainly attempted by the fire from the batteries to protect the ships under Fort Saint Vaast. The French hastened out of their ships on one side, the English entered on the other side, and turned the captured ship guns against the batteries on shore, which were speedily silenced. Rooke then set all the ships on fire. James, Melfort, Bellefonds, and Tourville all saw, but could not prevent the conflagration. The English sailors next entered an inner basin where many transports lay, burnt eight, and towed out several. The tide now ebbing, prevented further destruction by compelling the boats to retire. Sixteen French men-of-war, all splendid ships, and eight of them three-deckers, had been sunk or burned down to the water edge, and the invasion of England was prevented. Thus ended, on the 24th May, 1692, the sea-fight which commenced on the 19th. The English lost only one fire-ship; but lost Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings, both killed.

Brest.

On the 7th June, 1694, the combined English and

Dutch fleet, consisting of twenty-nine sail of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, boats prepared for landing troops, and bomb-ships, commanded by Lord Berkeley, Admiral of the Blue, anchored off Brest between Camaret and Bertheaume Bay, close to the mouth of the harbour. They were shelled from Camaret and from a castle in Bertheaume Bay, also from two forts standing on each side of the isthmus going into Brest Road, the one being called Point Minoux and the other Point des Fillettes, but without damage. Talmash, who had the principal command of the troops, wished to land in Camaret Bay. Lord Cutts and the Marquis of Caermarthen, son of the Duke of Leeds, having the temporary rank of Rear Admiral, in his own yacht the *Peregrine*, stood a considerable way into the Bay of Brest reconnoitring. They returned uninjured, but reported to Admiral Berkeley that the preparations of the enemy in fortifications and soldiers were formidable, and that the castle would be a serious impediment to troops landing. Berkeley and Tolmash, not aware that their scheme was well known to Louis, that an army had been sent to oppose them, and that Vauban had fortified the shore, considered that Caermarthen over-estimated the danger, and resolved upon landing. Thereupon the *Monk*, of sixty-five guns, *Diamelem*, of sixty guns, *Greenwich*, of fifty-four guns, and five other smaller ships, were sent into the Bay, to cover the landing of Tolmash's force, which was to follow in one hundred boats. As soon as these ships got into the Bay, the former batteries and three others not before seen, opened a furious fire upon them. Nevertheless Caermarthen succeeded in posting these eight ships so as to return the fire and protect the landing. Lieutenant-General Tolmash and Lord Cutts landed their men from the boats under a little rock on the south side of a small bay, but this attempt miscarried, for the French troops fell upon them with superior numbers and with the greatest fury, the various forts and batteries also playing fiercely upon them, and drove them back to their boats, and thence to their ships with severe loss. Many of the boats grounded, the tide being ebb, and their crews were helplessly slaughtered or taken prisoners. Caermarthen now drew off the ships, which were much disabled, and succeeded in saving all except the *Hunt*, a small Dutch man-of-war of thirty guns, which he left with twelve feet of water in the hold, all the crew

having been slain except the Lieutenant and two men. The killed, wounded, and prisoners on the English side amounted to one thousand. Tolmash, mortally wounded, was carried on board Berkeley's ship, and a council of war held in his cabin. He urged an immediate entrance into the harbour of Brest, and bombardment of the town, but was overruled by the naval officers. The fleet returned to Portsmouth, where Tolmash died, expressing his conviction that he had been betrayed. We have already seen that Macaulay considered that he lost his life from the perfidy of Marlborough.

PART THE THIRD.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Principal Plots and Conspiracies.

It has in the preceding Chapters incidentlly appeared that William was harassed by intrigues and exposed to the danger of assassination. The Jacobites, although numerically insignificant, were incessantly active and plotting, and wholly unscrupulous. Moreover, Louis and James at least knew of, if they did not actually sanction and encourage, the designs upon William's life. We have also seen the treacherous and double game played by Ministers, generals, and admirals, and by others who had sworn allegiance. And now let us examine more in detail the principal plots and conspiracies against the life and kingdom of William.

Jones's Plot.

The first murderous design was undertaken in 1689 or 1690 by one Jones, who was to kill William in Ireland. He received payment, but went to France without fulfilling his contract. The plot was proved by writings found amongst Tyrconnel's papers. William, in his answer to James's first memorial on the Treaty of Ryswick, used these words:—"The late King (James), while he was in Ireland, did himself concert with one Jones the way of murdering the King (William); but so tender was his Majesty William of the honour of a person so nearly related to him that he gave orders to suppress that matter, though the authentical proofs of it are yet extant in letters and other papers taken in the

Earl of Tyrconnel's cabinet." This same answer displaces Dr. Lingard's representation ("History of England," vol. x. p. 186) that James was treated as a prisoner under charge of the Dutch guards when he left London for Rochester. Lingard says, "Hastening to the river (Thames), he went on board the royal barge, attended by the Lords Arran, &c. Several boats, carrying one hundred of the Dutch guards, took their respective stations round him, and at the signal given the royal *captive* proceeded down the river." . . . . . "They (the spectators) could not behold without shame the King of England conveyed from his capital *a prisoner in the hands of foreigners.*" The simple fact is that James particularly wished to be attended by the Dutch guards (probably because he could not trust the English army), and sent to their commander, Count Solmes, a request to that effect, which was immediately granted. And if Lingard is correct in his own statement (which doubtless seems strange) "that the officer who commanded the Dutch guard and one-half of the men were Catholics," the reason of James's request is obvious.

Crone and Fuller.

In the seventh Chapter their history has been briefly given. In the spring of 1690 treasonable letters relating to the invasion of England and destruction of William were constantly passing between Kent and Picardy, and between Wales and Ireland. These were conveyed by various agents, some of whom were faithful to James, others of whom were doubly traitors, betraying James to William, and William to James. Of the latter class was William Fuller, who in early life had been page to Lady Melfort. In the spring of 1690, before the battle of the Boyne, James's wife sent to the London Jacobites important papers. These were entrusted to and divided between Fuller and a young man named Crone, who received their final instructions from Mary of Modena herself. They proceeded to Calais, thence by night to the Kentish coast, where they landed near Dungeness. Having procured horses, they separated and rode to London by different routes. Fuller went straight to Kensington, and delivered his papers to William himself. As soon as possible Crone was arrested, but he

had delivered his papers to the proper parties. He was brought before the Secretary of State, and there found Fuller a witness against him. On the 11th June, 1690, Crone was tried at the Old Bailey for high treason. Fuller appeared as a Crown witness. Crone was found guilty and sentenced to death, but saved his life by making disclosures, in consequence of which Clarendon and several other conspicuous Jacobites were sent to the Tower.

Preston's Plot.

A few months after the battle of the Boyne the leading Jacobites, including Viscount Preston (created by James), Lord Dartmouth, the Earl of Clarendon, the non-juring Bishop of Ely (Turner), and William Penn, the Quaker, renewed communications with James and his wife, and advised a French invasion. In December, 1690, they sent Preston to James. He bore various important treasonable papers, including a list of the English fleet, furnished by Dartmouth, the resolutions of the conspirators, the draft of a declaration to be published by James upon landing, and several letters written by leading Jacobites. Preston, John Ashton (who had been Clerk of the Closet to Mary of Modena), and one Elliot, arranged with the captain of a smack to convey them to France. The captain, suspecting that there was something wrong, and hoping for a reward from Government, gave private information to the Lord President, the Marquis of Caermarthen, who thereupon placed his son's yacht under the charge of Billop, a trustworthy officer. At midnight on the 31st December, 1690, Preston, Ashton, and Elliot embarked, and sailed as far as Gravesend unmolested; but soon afterwards, on the 1st January, 1691, Billop, coming from Tilbury, overtook and boarded the smack, arrested the three conspirators, secured their papers, and brought the conspirators and their papers before the Secretary of State. In a few weeks the conspirators were indicted for high treason. Some of the treasonable papers were proved to be in the handwriting of Preston; others were in fact in the handwriting of Ashton, but were not proved so to be at the trial. Preston and Ashton were convicted and sentenced to death. Elliot, being the least guilty party, was not brought to trial. Ashton

might have saved his life by making disclosures, but would not, and was executed. Preston, after much vacillation, saved his life by denouncing his accomplices, and named Clarendon, Dartmouth, the Bishop of Ely, and Penn. He also named others who had been mentioned to him by Penn as favourable to James, but none of those parties were brought to trial.

Grandval's Plot.

In 1691, and again in 1692, a scheme was arranged in France for the murder of William during his campaign in Flanders, by or with the knowledge and sanction of the French War Minister (the Marquis of Louvois), his son and successor, the Marquis of Barbesieux, James and Louis. The intended executioner was Grandval, or Bartholomew de Liniere Sieur de Grandval, born in Picardy. His accomplices were Dumont (then at Hanover) and Leefdale, a Papist Dutchman (then in Paris). These three were to meet at Uden in North Brabant. On his way thither Grandval, who seems to have been a weak, garrulous, and boastful man, revealed his secret to John d'Amours at Brussels. Meanwhile Dumont and Leefdale had, through the Marquis of Zell and other persons, communicated the plot to William. Accordingly Grandval and his three companions were seized at Eyndhoven and conveyed to Bois le Duc. Grandval, finding himself betrayed by his associates, confessed. On the 11th August, 1692, he was tried at Lambeck by court-martial, Ginkell (then Earl of Athlone) being president, and upon the evidence of Dumont, Leefdale, and D'Amours, and his own letters and confession, was condemned to be hanged and quartered, which sentence was carried out on the 13th August. The court, in the preamble to its sentence, stated the guilty knowledge of Louis's Ministers and others, and also of James and his wife. The French Government never contradicted or explained this statement, although Grandval's confession was printed in several languages and widely circulated.

Cheshire and Lancashire Plot.

This plot for invasion and the restoration of James existed amongst some Jacobite gentry and their followers in the counties of York, Lancaster, and Durham, although the witnesses Taaffe and Lunt gave information when the plot was extinct or dormant, and played a trick upon the Government. In 1694 the Jacobites were closely watched by Trenchard, the Whig Secretary of State, by Hugh Speke, who had circulated Johnson's tracts in James's camp at Hounslow, and by Aaron Smith, the Solicitor to the Treasury. Taaffe, an Irishman, formerly Roman Catholic priest and secretary to Adda, afterwards a pretended Protestant, then the discoverer of concealed property of Jesuits and Benedictines, and Lunt, a Jacobite agent employed in bringing over from France James's military commissions and instructions and in arranging plots, gave information to Trenchard of this Cheshire and Lancashire conspiracy (Kennet, iii. 645). By them several Cheshire and Lancashire gentlemen were named as having James's military commissions and stores of arms and ammunition ready for an outbreak. Search-warrants were granted, and Aaron Smith and Taaffe went into Lancashire. In consequence of their discoveries several persons were arrested for high treason; a special Commission was issued for their trial at Manchester. Taaffe now, being angry because he had not obtained money from the Treasury, communicated with the prisoners, and for a sum paid down and a life annuity engaged to defeat the prosecution. In October, 1694, four judges were sent to Manchester to try the prisoners. Lunt gave confused evidence—doubtless bribed to do so—and his bad character rendered even that evidence valueless. Taaffe was then examined, and coolly swore that the whole charge was a deliberate lie fabricated by himself and Lunt. The accused were acquitted, the witnesses for the prosecution were pelted out of Manchester, the judges were hissed, and Trenchard was much blamed. The crime had in fact been committed by the prisoners, though they thus escaped. Instead of remaining content, the Jacobites unwisely brought the subject before the House of Commons. The leading Whigs thereupon insisted upon an inquiry. Aaron Smith and the witnesses on both sides attended before the

House, and resolutions were passed that there had been sufficient ground for the Special Commission, and that there had been a dangerous conspiracy. The Lords also passed resolutions acquitting the Government and the judges of all blame, and sent Taaffe to prison for prevarication.

The real fact was that in 1691 and 1692 Lunt and Colonel Parker (of whom we have before heard) and Johnson, a priest, had organized an insurrection in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Durham, and had distributed James's military commissions amongst the gentry in those counties, who also provided themselves with arms. The insurrection was to commence as soon as William was murdered (for which there was a separate plot) and the French army had landed in England. These events not having happened, the arms and commissions were buried or otherwise concealed by the insurgents.

INVASION AND ASSASSINATION.

Charnock, Berwick, Barclay.

In 1695, immediately after Mary's death, there was a new conspiracy for French invasion and the murder of William. The principal agent was Robert Charnock, formerly Fellow, and, after apostatizing to the Church of Rome, Vice-President of Magdalene College, Oxford, which James had converted into a Popish establishment. With him were associated George Porter, an adventurer of despicable character; Cardell Goodman (nicknamed Scum Goodman), equally profligate; Sir William Parkyns, a professed Tory, a lawyer, and an officer of the Court of Chancery; Sir John Friend, the Earl of Ailesbury, and Sir John Fenwick. Parkyns and Fenwick afterwards declared that they participated only in the invasion plot. At all events they knew of the intent to murder, and kept the secret. The conspirators applied to James for his sanction, but received no answer, which silence they considered a virtual approval. It would require great credulity to suppose that James disapproved the murder scheme. But William unconsciously saved his life by leaving England on the 12th May, 1695, for the war

in the Netherlands. The murder was necessarily postponed, but the general plot was continued. The conspirators were now joined by the Earl of Ailesbury and by Sir John Friend, a wealthy brewer, who held a colonel's commission from James. The conspirators despatched to Versailles Charnock, who saw James and Louis, and endeavoured to arrange a French invasion, but could effect nothing, because the conspirators would not attempt insurrection until 10,000 French troops were landed in England, and Louis could not spare them. Thus again the operations were postponed. But on the 10th October, 1695, William arrived from the Netherlands, landing at Margate, where he narrowly escaped death. Five conspirators there waiting for him were arrested at the critical moment by Captain William Ricards, under a warrant from the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. They were conveyed to Newgate, where they remained prisoners without being brought to trial. The London conspirators now recommenced their work. To the insurrection and invasion scheme almost all the Jacobites were privy; to the murder scheme, only between forty and fifty. Both schemes were doubtless now known to James, probably also to Louis. The conduct of the invasion was entrusted to James's illegitimate son, the Duke of Berwick; of the murder, to Sir George Barclay, a Scotch gentleman of tact and courage, who had served under Dundee, and had afterwards been received by James at St. Germains. Berwick was authorized to concert measures with the leading English Jacobites, whom he was to inform that James would come over with 12,000 men as soon as insurrection commenced. Barclay received his instructions from James himself. He was to proceed quietly to London, whither he would be followed by selected officers and soldiers, two or three at a time. He was to walk every Monday and Thursday night up and down the piazza of Covent Garden, with a white handkerchief hanging out of his coat-pocket as a signal for his associates. James gave him money and a commission wholly written and signed by himself, in which were these words: "to do from time to time *such acts of hostility against* the Prince of Orange and that Prince's adherents *as should most conduce to the service of the King.*"

Barclay reached London in January, 1696, and was followed in a few days by Berwick. Barclay, through a Romish priest, made known his arrival, and soon communicated

with Charnock and Parkyns. Twenty troopers of James's guard gradually joined Barclay in London, amongst whom were Brigadier Ambrose Rookwood and Major John Bernardi. Twenty more men were required, and were obtained in London; amongst them were Porter and his servant Thomas Keyes, who had been a trumpeter in the Household Regiment the Blues; Edward Lowick, formerly major in the Irish army; Richard Fisher, Christopher Knightley, Edward King, Chambers, who had served in the Irish army, Fisher, and De la Rue. The whole number of forty was made up.

Friend and Parkyns provided men, horses, and arms for the insurrection, and at all events knew of and kept secret the intended murder. After several meetings and changes of plan, Barclay resolved to attack William on Saturday, the 15th February, on his return from Richmond Park, whither he went every Saturday to hunt, in a lane then narrow and muddy, leading from the landing-place on the Middlesex side of the Thames to Turnham Green. The royal guards, twenty-five in number, were to be killed, and William shot in his carriage.

Meanwhile Berwick was working the insurrection scheme, but the old difficulty remained; the Jacobites would not openly rise until James was in England, and James would not bring his army upon a mere promise of insurrection. Berwick left London and crossed to Calais, where he found James watching for the signal bonfire on the English cliffs announcing William's death.

Before the appointed 15th February the plans of the assassins were betrayed. Fisher (one of the conspirators) and afterwards Pendergrass (a Roman Catholic gentleman who had been incautiously asked to join) had disclosed the matter to Portland. He on the 14th February informed William, and with difficulty persuaded him to remain in Kensington Palace the next day.

On Saturday, the 15th February, the assassins, when ready to start for Turnham Green, received a message from one of their scouts that the King would not hunt; they therefore postponed the attack until the following Saturday. Before that date, however, De la Rue also had informed, and the names of the chief conspirators had been given to William.

On the morning of Saturday, the 22nd February, the

assassins, when again ready to start for Turnham Green, were again informed that William would not hunt, with the addition that there were strange rumours. Within a few hours Charnock, Rookwood, Bernardi, and seventeen others were taken in London; and within a few days Parkyns, Porter, Keyes, Friend and Knightley were also taken in Warwickshire and Surrey. Ailesbury was afterwards arrested and sent to the Tower. Barclay escaped to France, where he was received by Louis and found by Portland, as before narrated. The conspirators were tried; ten or twelve (amongst them Porter) turned King's evidence, and Charnock, King, Keyes, Sir John Friend, Sir William Parkyns, Rookwood, Cranburne, and Lowick were executed; the rest were spared.

For some months Fenwick effectually concealed himself. He devised a scheme for saving his life. The law of high treason made two witnesses necessary. Porter and Goodman alone could prove his guilt. He endeavoured to remove one of them. A barber named Clancy and three other persons were employed. They first tested Porter: they offered him three hundred guineas down, three hundred more as soon as he was beyond sea, an annuity for life, a free pardon from James, and an asylum in France. Porter betrayed to the Government this offer. By appointment he met Clancy at a tavern, received from him three hundred guineas, and gave a signal, when officers rushed in and arrested Clancy, who was afterwards convicted and pilloried. At the next Old Bailey Sessions Fenwick was indicted for high treason: Porter and Goodman appeared as witnesses before the grand jury, and a true bill was found. Fenwick then went to Romney Marsh, having made arrangements for a French privateer under English colours to convey him to France; but at Romney Marsh he was arrested and brought back to London. He contrived, when arrested, to write to his wife a letter in pencil, which virtually acknowledged his guilt. This letter was intercepted and brought to the Secretary of State. Finding the evidence too strong against him, Fenwick now attempted to save his life by confession. His written statement made to Devonshire was to this effect, that Godolphin, Marlborough, Russell, and Shrewsbury had been in communication with James. This doubtless was true, and was already known to William, but Fenwick made no discovery as to his recent conspiracy, or

as to the parties then actively engaged against William. Such a confession was manifestly evasive.

Afterwards William reluctantly, at the request of his ministers, saw Fenwick, who was brought before him at Kensington, but made no further confession or discovery, and was taken back to prison. The fact was, he then knew that he could not be legally convicted, his wife having bribed Goodman, for an annuity of £500 for life, to leave England. He was conveyed by her agent, O'Brien, to Saint Germains. The House of Commons now took up the subject. On the 6th November, 1696, Russell brought forward Fenwick's confession; Fenwick was conveyed to the Bar of the House, and having refused to make any further revelation, was taken back to Newgate. The House resolved that his confession was false and scandalous, and a contrivance to create jealousies between the King and good subjects for the purpose of screening real traitors. A motion was then made and carried by 179 votes to 61 for leave to bring in a Bill of Attainder against Fenwick. On the 9th November, the Bill prepared by the Attorney and Solicitor Generals was read the first time by 196 votes to 104. A copy was sent to Fenwick; he begged to be heard by counsel; this request was granted, and the 13th November fixed for the hearing. On the day appointed, Fenwick appeared, attended by his counsel, Sir Thomas Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower (generally employed by Jacobites) to argue against the Bill. Porter was examined, and then evidence was given tending to prove the abduction of Goodman (of which there was really no moral doubt), and secondary evidence was given of what Goodman could have sworn. Fenwick's confession was produced. The examination and arguments, which lasted three days, having been concluded, Fenwick was taken back to prison. The second reading of the Bill of Attainder was then considered. Long and earnest debates ensued. The Bill was read a second time by 186 votes to 128, and the third reading was afterwards carried by 189 to 156.

On the 26th November the Bill was carried up to the House of Lords, and on the 1st December was read the first time. Fenwick's confession was produced. He was brought in and asked whether he had any further confession to make, but he made none. On the 15th December the second reading of the Bill came on. The debates were long and earnest. The chief supporters of the Bill were Tankerville,

Burnet, Wharton, and Monmouth (afterwards Earl of Peterborough). The chief opponents were Rochester, Nottingham, Normanby, and Leeds. Between these was a third party, Dorset, Devonshire, Ormond, and Pembroke, who would support the Bill only to a certain extent. The first division was upon the question whether secondary evidence of what Goodman could have said should be admitted. It was admitted by seventy-three votes to fifty-three. Of these fifty-three, thirty six entered protests. The next question was whether the Bill should be read a second time. The second reading was carried by seventy-three to fifty-five ; of the fifty-five, forty nine entered protests. Fenwick was now brought before the House to give him another opportunity of saving his life by an ample confession. He refused to answer any questions, alleging that his answers might be used against him elsewhere. The House promised him protection ; he said he would be satisfied by the King's promise alone ; the King was communicated with and gave the required promise Still Fenwick hesitated and declined to answer unless the King's pardon were previously actually granted. After a short interval given for consideration he finally refused to make any further discovery, and was thereupon sent back to prison. The next day the third reading of the Bill was moved. Devonshire, Dorset, Ormond, and Pembroke refused to support the third reading, but they and also Rochester (as representing the Tories), offered to support the third reading if the punishment was changed from death to imprisonment for life. The question was put to the vote, and the Bill was carried by sixty-eight votes to sixty-one. Of these sixty-one, forty-one entered a protest assigning their reasons. On the 11th January, 1697, the Royal assent was given to the Bill. Lady Fenwick still naturally and dutifully struggled to save her husband's life. She presented petitions to the King and to the Lords. A respite for one week was granted. Before the expiration of the week she presented petitions to both Houses praying that her husband might be banished. These petitions did not succeed, and on the 28th January Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill.

We have entered into detail upon this subject because this bill was a doubtful proceeding legally and constitutionally considered. True it is that the Bill did not act retrospectively by creating either a new crime or a new

punishment, but it sanctioned evidence inadmissible and death impracticable in an ordinary criminal court. The question arises, whether it might not have been better to allow one man, of whose guilt there could be no moral doubt, to escape rather than introduce or repeat a dangerous precedent. The parliamentary debates and the ultimate close division, show that the point was not overlooked. Possibly it was felt that so long as Fenwick lived, England and William were not safe. In the present century the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Princess of Wales (Queen Caroline) was abandoned by the Government because carried by a majority of only eleven votes. The same course might have been adopted in Fenwick's case, where the third reading in the House of Lords was carried only by a majority of seven. And, indeed, the evil consequences were soon manifest. In 1698, in the House of Commons, a Bill of Pains and Penalties was introduced against Charles Duncombe, a wealthy goldsmith and banker, alleging fraud and forgery, and enacting that two-thirds of his property, real and personal, should be confiscated, and applied to the public service. The Bill was passed by the Commons, but fortunately thrown out by the Lords, though only by a majority of one. Where is this kind of legislation to stop, if once commenced?

Young's Plot.

In 1692, when the nation was expecting invasion, and there was a natural tendency to believe tales of conspiracy, Robert Young, a man of execrable character, manufactured a new plot, expecting pecuniary recompense from Government. He drew up articles of association for the restoration of James, whereby the subscribers engaged to take arms for James and to seize William (called the Prince of Orange) living or dead. Young was an accomplished imitator of handwritings, and to this paper he signed the names of Marlborough, Cornbury, Salisbury, Sancroft, and Sprat, Bishop of Rochester. Young being in Newgate for forgery, employed one Blackhead, who had been formerly convicted of perjury, to conceal this paper in the Bishop's palace at Bromley. Young then communicated the alleged plot to the Government. Marlborough was immediately committed

to the Tower, and Government messengers were sent to Bromley. They searched the palace, but could not find the paper, although it was actually there, concealed in a flower-pot where Blackhead had placed it. However, they arrested and brought to London the Bishop. Suffice it to say that the forgery of the signatures and the utter falsehood of the plot were soon exposed, and Marlborough and Sprat released from all further inconvenience. Young was imprisoned and pilloried, and, after descending lower and lower in infamy and crime, was ultimately hanged.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GLENCOE.

As before mentioned, there was in 1692 a painful transaction, sometimes called "The Massacre of Glencoe." A part of the Highland clan "MacDonald" was slaughtered at Glencoe (or Glenco) by soldiers under circumstances cruel and treacherous; and, as the Jacobites alleged, by special order of the king. At first the matter was not publicly noticed—severe measures being common in the Highlands of Scotland—but in 1695 full investigation became requisite.

For that purpose a Royal Commission was issued in Scotland, under which the Report hereafter cited was made. We might perhaps say, William allowed Scotland to manage itself and is no more answerable for what was done there than Queen Victoria is for every act done in India; but seeing that William had two Secretaries of State for Scotland, one of whom always attended him wherever he was, whether in England or on the continent, we consider it requisite to enter as fully as existing information will permit into the subject of Glencoe.

Now it must here be remembered that it is always difficult to investigate satisfactorily an ancient transaction, the evidences and information respecting which are fragmentary and imperfect—and in the following pages we do not wish dogmatically to decide all points, but to present the whole subject for the calm consideration of our readers.

To form a correct judgment upon the Glencoe case, the following particulars must be understood:—the condition of the Highlanders before and during the seventeenth century; the peculiar Scotch law and practice applicable to them; the schemes and proceedings of William for their pacification; the true circumstances respecting the character and conduct of MacIan, the chief of Glencoe, and of his tribe;

the circumstances as stated to the Scotch Privy Council and afterwards to the King; the proper construction of the so-called Instructions of the King; the Report of the Scotch Commissioners; and the proceedings in the Scotch Parliament.

1. The Character and Condition of the Highlanders.

We are accustomed to regard the chiefs as noble fellows, living in barbaric splendour and hospitality, with power almost unlimited over their clans; their followers as hardy and gallant men, unreservedly devoted in peace and war to their chiefs; the conduct and ideas of all being peculiar and independent as regards the general national community; in short, as a body, an eccentric but glorious race of men. But there is another way in which the statesman may view the subject. He may say that—romance being laid aside—the Highland clans, even in their best estate, were uncivilised, despisers of all peaceful arts and employments, governed by no laws except their own, such as they were, disturbed by miserable feuds and jealousies perpetuated through centuries, constantly quarrelling and even at war amongst themselves, frightfully cruel and revengeful, all more or less cattle-stealers or "cow-lifters," not only from the Lowlanders but also from one another; the chiefs of the larger clans levying "blackmail" or protection-money, in consideration whereof they indemnified those who paid against the depredations of the smaller clans, the smaller clans being general and reckless robbers and marauders. As to politics, in 1688 and subsequently, the clans were divided into Jacobites and Williamites, caring in fact little or nothing either for James or William, but siding according to clanship animosities. For example, if the Campbells supported William, the MacDonalds would support James, and *vice versâ*. Moreover, all these Highlanders lived or could take refuge in rocky fastnesses inaccessible to regular troops; were armed, fearless, and regardless of life; never had been, and seemed never likely to be governed by any ordinary method. The Western Islands, principally inhabited by MacDonalds (Glencoe's clan), were in the same lawless condition, as exemplified by the offer of the Marquis of Huntly in the

reign of James the Sixth (the First of England), that he would settle certain of these islands by extirpation of the barbarous people thereof within one year, paying yearly for the said isles £400 Scots—that is, about £20 English. Again, the Lowlanders had for three centuries regarded the Highlanders as enemies; and they represented to William, soon after his accession, "that the not taking an effectual course to repress their depredations and robberies was a grievance" (Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 118).

Next, as to the MacDonalds of Glencoe in particular. They were notorious cattle-stealers, having their fastness in a solitude almost inaccessible. "They lived" (says Burton) "by plunder, and were, except the MacGregors, who had been nearly exterminated, the most accomplished and indomitable freebooters within the circuit of the Grampians." By their "creaghs" and forays they had rendered the Campbells, Argyle, Breadalbane and other powerful Highlanders implacable enemies. Successive Scotch Governments had vainly tried to punish them.

They were Jacobites. Their Chief, MacIan, had a command under Dundee; and afterwards in 1745 the resuscitated clan formed part of the Pretender's army. In short, socially and politically considered, the Highlanders in general and the MacDonalds of Glencoe and Keppoch in particular, were the plague-spots of Scotland. Indeed Glencoe and Keppoch in any well-governed country would (as Macaulay observes) have been by due course of law hanged thirty years before.

Moreover MacIan was included in the sentence of forfeiture against Dundee and others in July, 1690. Also in the Scotch Parliament in 1690 an Act was passed whereby (after reciting an association and combination of Highlanders in August, 1689, to contribute men to support the late King James and oppose the present Government) the Privy Council was empowered to require the oath of allegiance from suspected persons; and another Act whereby process for treason was directed against persons in rebellion. In fact, therefore, Glencoe and several other Highland clans were liable to the penalties of rebellion, treason, and civil war; the only mode of escape being to take the oath of allegiance on or before the 31st December, 1691, pursuant to Royal Proclamation. Such was the state of

things when the case of MacIan came before William in January, 1692.

2. The Scotch Law and Practice for the Highlands.

Something unusual was required for such an unusual social system as before described. The Scotch Law and Practice provided a remedy, which was freely applied to the Highlands, namely, a writ issued by the Scotch Privy Council, known as "Letters of Fire and Sword." As to which Stair, in his "Institutes of the Law of Scotland," says, "There are other extraordinary executionals, &c. And likewise 'Letters of Fire and Sword' in case of deforcement or resistance of the ordinary executions by continued open force in arms; especially for making letters of possession effectual, &c. 'Letters of fire and Sword' are the last legal execution, warranting all manner of force of arms that is competent in war." In general this writ was issued without the knowledge of the Sovereign. Although granted by civilians, it was truly an order for military execution, and ran in this form—"Take so many soldiers, go to such a place, put to death all the men, burn the houses, and bring away the cattle." Sometimes the Letters, when granted to one clan against another clan, contained such powers as these—"To invade them to their utter destruction by slaughter, burning, drowning, and other ways, and leave no creature living of that clan except priests, women, and barns;" and even added such words as these—"That whatever slaughter, mutilation, blood, fire-raising, or other violence should be committed, would be considered laudable, good, and warrantable service to his Majesty and his Government." (See the King's Letters in 1528 to the Earl of Murray in the "Miscellany of the Spalding Club," and in "Burton's Scotland," vol. i. p. 176.) One of the last acts in the reign of James the Seventh (our Second) was the issue of the Writ of Fire and Sword against some of the MacDonalds. Indeed, during the reign of the Stuarts, this writ was almost an ordinary remedy for any kind of offence in the Highlands, far beyond the original intention, which confined it to cases of murder, forcible abduction of women, plunder, rebellion, and high treason. But then, any person

not obnoxious to the existing Government, whose estate had been ravaged, or any chief who had a deadly feud against another clan, easily obtained these letters from the Scotch Privy Council, without the knowledge of the sovereign, on payment of certain fees. Even after the Glencoe slaughter the Scotch Privy Council, without consulting William, twice granted this writ, namely, to the Laird of MacIntosh, a partisan of William, against MacDonald of Keppoch, a partisan of James; and to the heiress of Lord Lovat against Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. The practice does not appear to have ceased sooner than the reign of Queen Anne, if even then. In 1724 Field-Marshal Wade in his Report to King George the First says, "The Legislature of Scotland, before the union of the kingdoms, has ever considered the Highlands in a different state from the rest of the nation, and made peculiar laws for their government under the severest penalties. The chieftains were obliged to send their children or nearest relatives as hostages to Edinburgh for the good behaviour of their respective clans, and in default they might be put to death by law. The clans and tribes, who lived in a state of anarchy and confusion (as they seem to be at this time), were, by the very words of the Acts of Parliament, to be pursued by fire and sword." However strange and unjustifiable all these proceedings may now appear, they occasioned, under ordinary circumstances, neither surprise nor remonstrance in the seventeenth century. Nor did the feelings of military men revolt from carrying the law into effect, as will sufficiently appear from a letter from Sir Thomas Livingstone, commander of the forces in Scotland, to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, dated the 26th February, 1692, a few days after the Glencoe massacre—"You have taken some Lochaber men prisoners. It was a mistake that these villains were not shot in the place where they were found. Let no prisoners be brought in, but let them be despatched in the place where they are found," &c. Highlanders at this period were hunted down like banditti or wild beasts. Indeed, strangely enough, the Glencoe people themselves did not complain until they were dragged into notice in 1695; for after the slaughter of 1692, William, on the solicitation of Colonel Hill, granted pardon and remission to them, with liberty to return and dwell at Glencoe, upon the condition that, for the future, they would conduct themselves peaceably and honestly, and obey the

laws like their Majesties' other subjects. And the same sheriff, Sir Colin Campbell, who had administered the oath of allegiance to the deceased MacIan, now executed a bond whereby he undertook "that they would not, by themselves or others, commit any depredations, herships, robberies, theft, reset of theft, or other crimes."

3. Let us now see what were King William's plans for the pacification and government of the Highlands; for certainly the before mentioned remedies were inconsistent with his humane disposition. We consider Lord Macaulay in error when he says (Chapter xviii.), "The Master of Stair found no difficulty in the royal closet. William had, in all probability, never heard the Glencoe men mentioned except as banditti. . . . . If he paid any attention to the matter, he must have thought," &c. On the contrary, William had previously, both in England and on the Continent, considered and discussed the state of the Highlands and the mode of governing them. The subject had been brought before him soon after his accession by the before mentioned complaint of the Lowlanders; and again by Viscount Tarbet (Tarbat) after the battle of Killiecrankie. First he endeavoured by an Act of the Scotch Parliament (10th September, 1690) to render the neighbouring owners "heretors, lyferenters, and proper wodsetters," are the words used —who did not join in repressing depredations, liable for damage done. This experiment failed. Subsequent Acts of the Scotch Parliament in 1693 and 1695 attempted the legal government of the Highlands, but in vain. (See Scotch Acts, volume the ninth, pages 324 and 361.) William also placed forts and barracks at advantageous points in the Highlands, as suggested by General Mackay. He next formed independent military companies, composed of Highlanders and commanded by their own native officers, as to which Marshal Wade, in 1724, says, "these independent companies raised by King William reduced the Highlanders to better order than at any time they had been in since the Restoration." This scheme, however, did not fully succeed. Highland commanders would naturally screen and spare Highland offenders, if there was no intervening clan feud. Moreover, concealed Jacobite officers would not act heartily for William. From this attempt at local military formation arose "the Black Watch"—the renowned Forty-second regiment of our own

time. But we have to deal more especially with the feelings of William towards the MacDonalds of Glencoe in 1692.

In 1691, the rebellious condition of several clans, and amongst them the MacDonalds of Glencoe, was again brought before William, who then exhibited his strong tendency to merciful and conciliatory measures. This appears in the most unsuspicious form by a letter, dated London, the 27th October, 1691 (after the Royal Proclamation for the rebels to come in), written by Stair to the Earl of Breadalbane, and manifestly alluding to his mission hereafter mentioned,—"I must say there is no Prince alive but ours, whose success would not have tempted him to hearken to the earnest desires of all those he trusts in his Government there, rather to have made the Highlanders examples of his justice by extirpating them, which your Lordship well knows to be as much some men's design as it's now practicable; though, perhaps, it was not so likely when you entered on this negotiation. It must be a strange inadvertency if the Highlanders be not convinced of the King's extraordinary goodness to them, when he is content to be at charge to accommodate them, and give them the plain prospect of future peace, security, and advantage, when he can gratify many by destroying them with as little charge. And certainly, if there do remain any obstinacy, these advices will take place. The King, by his offer of mercy, hath shown his good intentions, and by their ruin he will rid himself of a suspicious crew."

Previously, in April, 1690, William had wished to try the experiment first suggested by Tarbet (Tarbat), after the battle of Killicrankie, of offering money and rewards to such Highland chiefs as would come in and swear allegiance. The money was to be applied to purchase disputed seigniories, to pay a local Highland force commanded by their own chiefs holding commissions from the Crown, and generally for pacification. Afterwards, on the 24th April, 1690, William, in writing, authorized the Earl of Breadalbane to conduct the negotiation, and placed in his hands, for the before mentioned purposes, twelve, fifteen, or twenty thousand pounds—the sum is variously stated by the historians—a very large amount, considering the poverty of the Highlanders. William desired Breadalbane particularly to try Sir Donald MacDonald, MacLean, Clanranald, Glen-

garry, Lochiel, and the Mackenzies; and even authorized him to offer two thousand pounds, or a peerage, to any chief whose adherence would be important. This experiment seemed likely to be wholly defeated, mainly by the exertions of MacIan, the Chief of Glencoe. Afterwards, in August, 1690, a Royal Proclamation was issued in Scotland, requiring all the chiefs to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary before a civil magistrate on or before the 31st day of December, 1691, and receive indemnity; and denouncing upon all who held out beyond that day the punishment for high treason, and military execution upon their lands. For this the Writ of Letters of Fire and Sword would be necessary; and it would have been consistent with Highland experience if the MacDonalds of Glencoe had turned out in full force, met, and perhaps even defeated the Royal troops. So did the MacDonalds of Keppoch, in the reign of our James the Second.

4. The True Particulars of MacIan's Conduct.

Breadalbane, having the money, summoned the disaffected chiefs collectively to his house at Glenorchy, and also dealt with them separately. At first they were all exorbitant in their demands, especially MacIan of Glencoe. He had recently stolen cows from Breadalbane, who, he well knew, would deduct their value from his share of the money; and he was, unfortunately, already too notorious as having been included in "the Decreet of Forfeiture" against Dundee and others, published in Edinburgh on the 14th July, 1690. MacIan (or MacEan) dissuaded the other leaders from submission. However, after some months, the Chieftains Appin, Keppoch, Clanranald, Glengarry, and Lochiel, one after another, took the oath of allegiance before the final day appointed, though they considered it a solemn farce, and would subsequently have declared for James at any favourable opportunity. MacIan still held out; but at length, on the 31st December—the very last day—he went to Colonel Hill at Fort William, the nearest point from his fastness. Hill, not being a civil magistrate, could not administer the oath. MacIan then, with all possible expedition, proceeded to the nearest magistrate the Sheriff of Argyleshire, Sir Colin Campbell, of Ard-

kinglas, near Inverary, bearing an explanatory letter from Colonel Hill. From the severity of the weather and the nature of the roads he did not reach Inverary until some days after the time limited, and then the Sheriff was absent. The Sheriff felt difficulty in administering the oath, the time having expired; however, he yielded to entreaty, administered the oath of allegiance, and afterwards transmitted to the Privy Council at Edinburgh the roll of names of those who had submitted, amongst whom was MacIan, together with a certificate of the fact and an explanatory letter. The Clerk of the Council doubted whether he could recognize a submission made after the prescribed day. There is an obscurity about the next step. By an intrigue, of which the history is but imperfectly known, the evidence of MacIan's tardy submission was wholly suppressed, his name removed from the Sheriff's roll, and the Sheriff's certificate never laid before the Privy Council at Edinburgh, but privately submitted to Lord President Stair, the father of the Secretary, and to some other persons, who pronounced it irregular and void. The certificate was cancelled; nevertheless it was not so effectually obliterated or "deleted" as to prevent the Royal Commissioners, in 1695, from ascertaining the meaning, as we shall presently see. The men who withheld this certificate were the real murderers of MacIan. In consequence of this suppression MacIan would be considered by the Privy Council as an obstinate armed rebel, and as such doomed to destruction, and the Writ of Fire and Sword was probably then granted. At all events, it must have been granted before the slaughter.

5. Glencoe's Case as Represented to the King, and the King's Conduct and Intentions.

From the preceding particulars and from the additional facts, writings, and report hereafter stated, we can with reasonable certainty determine what must have passed between William and Stair, and between William and Breadalbane, who went to London at this time. That Stair by some means knew or had reason to believe that MacIan had actually or virtually submitted, and therefore ought not to be executed, appears from his own letter dated the 9th January, 1692, to Livingstone, in which he says, "I could have wished the MacDonalds had not divided, *and I am*

sorry that Keppoch and MacIan of Glencoe are safe." That William did not know it when he signed the so-called "Instructions" is admitted by all the historians. Stair wilfully concealed that important circumstance from his master. Indeed, judging from the enlarged words of the Instructions, Stair seems not even to have clearly communicated the timely submission of the other Highlanders. At all events, William never knew until 1695 that MacIan had submitted in fact, although irregularly.

Now Stair must have presented the case as against MacIan to His Majesty thus:—"The MacDonalds of Glencoe have always been and still are murderers and robbers, the worst of all the Highlanders, and a common nuisance; they joined Dundee, and continue rebels in arms, having rejected all offers of mercy and amnesty; they have defied the Royal Proclamation, and not taken the oath of allegiance; they are under the ban of fire and sword, and an example must be made: their chief MacIan used every exertion to prevent the pacification proposed by Breadalbane, and is wholly unmanageable." To this representation, judging from the merciful proviso in the Instructions, William must have replied to this effect: "Although all these things are so, although the day of grace is past, and these men have stubbornly held out and are in armed rebellion, although letters of fire and sword may have been or will be granted against them by the Scotch Privy Council still they shall have another chance." Hence the words in the Instrument, "that the *rebels* may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarter," &c. Hence, also, the expression in Stair's letter, 16th January, 1692, to Livingstone, that the King was *still* inclined to mercy. The only thing which can connect William with the slaughter are these words, "If MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe can be well separated from the rest," &c.

Let us therefore now, for the purpose of understanding the conduct and intentions of William, more minutely examine the writings in which the quoted words are found. There were two papers, probably reduced into one, and at one and the same time executed by the King as one entire document, for it seems improbable that the King would be put to the trouble of signing twice. But whether these papers were signed and sent to Livingstone separately or together matters not as to their construction and meaning.

In the former paper or part dated the 11th January, 1692, there was a direction that such clansmen as had not taken the oath of allegiance by the time limited should be excluded from the benefit of the indemnity contained in the Proclamation, and be destroyed by fire and sword, but with this express mitigation—"That the rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarter, but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors and loaders be prisoners of war, their lives only safe and all things in mercy, they taking the oath of allegiance. And the community, taking the oath of allegiance and rendering their arms and submitting to the Government are to have quarter and indemnity, for their lives and fortunes, and be protected from the soldiers." Doubtless these words were duly considered by William when settling the draft with Stair—in fact, they must have been suggested by himself. That Stair did not suggest them is manifest from his letter of the 7th January to Livingstone:—"Your troops will destroy utterly, &c. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners." William's intention in inserting the words of mitigation is obvious. He meant to save all the lives, and calculated that all the Highlanders would come in. The proviso for mercy and amnesty would entirely nullify the severity of the Writ of Fire and Sword. William doubtless thought that everything would be done fairly and openly, that the advance of the royal troops, if any were sent, would be known, and that every opportunity would be given to the rebels to come in and accept the indemnity.

The second paper or part of the King's Instructions dated the 16th January, 1692 (the date in Stair's handwriting), gave directions for granting passes and for receiving the submission of rebels, and expressed the King's opinion that those who took the benefit of the indemnity in due time should be obliged to render upon mercy, they still taking the oath of allegiance, and then contained these words, "If MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." It is remarkable that Stair in his private letter of the same date to Livingstone says, *that the King still inclines to mercy*, proving that the King was not thereby directing the unqualified slaughter of Glencoe. And how could MacIan be "well separated from the rest" otherwise than by continuing to refuse

amnesty when all the others had submitted? But by detaching these words, "If MacIan," &c., from their context, an attempt was made to throw odium upon the King as ordering his immediate execution without mercy; whereas, if the words be read with their immediate context, and still more if they be read (as they ought to be) also with the context of the prior paper, which at least formed part of the entire Instructions, it is clear that MacIan was not sentenced to unmitigated destruction. Hitherto we have assumed that William read and knew the direction as to MacIan. Even then (as Macaulay observes) he would not necessarily understand that thereby the actual and immediate death of every individual of the clan was ordered; he would understand that a den of thieves was to be dislodged and broken up.

But there is another view. Did William really know and read these words, "If MacIan of Glencoe," &c., in the second paper? We think not. Observe Stair's letter, 16th January, already quoted. After saying that the King inclines to receive the rebels after the day on mercy, he adds, "but for a just example of vengeance, I ENTREAT *the thieving tribe of Glencoe* may be rooted out to purpose." The words introduced into the second paper were evidently the words of the Minister, not of his master. We suspect but cannot prove, that the following was the real transaction. The first paper was thoughtfully settled by William in consultation with Stair; the second paper was prepared a few days afterwards by Stair alone. Stair, fearing that MacIan might escape under the general amnesty, introduced certain words intended for his especial destruction; and then, on the 16th January, laid both papers before William for signature, stating that they were the papers already discussed and settled about the Highlanders, and merely required his signature; and thereupon, without reading, he signed. This view to some extent coincides with Burnet's idea that William had not perused what he signed; and, as Macaulay observes, "Princes and Ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign, documents which they have not read." As to Stair himself, his own letters prove his unscrupulous design to slaughter MacIan; and a man capable, from whatever motive, of suppressing a fact which, if known, would have saved life, would also be capable of interpolating, for his own purpose, into a writing words without his master's knowledge. His letter, 9th January, has already been cited. On the

11th January (the date of the first paper) he says to Livingstone, "I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glencoe, and it is well that the people are in mercy. Just now my Lord Argyle tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlanders." Again, in a letter of the same date to Colonel Hill, after saying that "such as render on mercy might be saved," he adds, "I shall entreat you that, for a just vengeance and public example, the tribe of Glencoe may be rooted out to purpose. The Earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they shall have no retreat in their bounds," &c. Again on the 30th January, he wrote to Livingstone, "I am glad that Glencoe did not come in *within the time prefixed.* I hope that what is done there may be in earnest . . . . I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Lotrickneel to assist the garrison to do all on a sudden." And on the same day he wrote to Colonel Hill, who commanded at Fort William: "Pray, when the thing concerning Glencoe is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not to meddle with them than not to purpose to cut off that nest of robbers." All these letters were written without William's knowledge; and so firmly was Stair resolved to clear the Highlands of robbery and marauding and rebellion, that he became blind to the cruelty and treachery of his own conduct. Had he lived in these days, he would have compared himself to the Marquis of Hastings extirpating the Pindarees, to Lord William Bentinck extirpating the Thugs, to the Rajah of Sarawak destroying the pirates of Borneo, and to the British naval commanders expelling the pirates from the Congo River.

6. Let us now see the judgment of the Scotch Commissioners and of the Scotch Parliament.

The Commissioners, by their report, presented to the Scotch Parliament on the 24th June, 1695, without having been seen by William, who was then in the Netherlands, found as follows;—"That there was nothing in the King's instructions to warrant the committing the slaughter even as to the thing itself, far less as to the manner of it," and then proceeded as hereafter stated.

On the 2nd July, 1695, in the Scotch Parliament, this report being read, together with the depositions of the witnesses, the King's instructions, and several letters of the Master of Stair, it was unanimously voted that his Majesty's instructions to Livingstone and Colonel Hill contained no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe men. It was further voted, though not unanimously, that the said execution was a murder; and it was further unanimously voted that the Master of Stair's letters did exceed the King's instructions.

7. As to the execution itself of the Glencoe people in 1692, nothing could be more perfidious and execrable; but respecting this, William, who was then on the Continent, knew nothing, and cannot be held responsible. Bad, however, as was the conduct of those who planned the slaughter, it is very improbable that the private soldiers were let into the mystery until the last moment. "As they were all Campbells, with hereditary hatred to the people they lived amongst, it is not in human nature that they should keep so dreadful a secret." It has been assumed that the officers Campbell and Lindsay during twelve days understood their dreadful errand. It may be so, but is doubtful. Certainly they did not receive their final orders for the execution until the night of the 12th February—a few hours before the deed was to be done. There seem to have been two letters containing the final orders, one from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to Major Ducanson, and the other from Ducanson to Campbell.

General Consecutive Narrative.

Having thus treated the subject in parts, we will now, although thereby repetition will be unavoidable, put the component parts together in a brief, general narrative.

In 1692, Sir John Dalrymple, son of Viscount Stair, Lord President of the Scotch Court of Session, called, according to Scotch usage, "the Master of Stair," was Secretary of State for Scotland. He was a superior scholar, able, eloquent, and accomplished. He and the Earls of Argyle and Breadalbane, acting from different motives, were resolved to destroy MacIan, Chief of Glencoe, and his tribe or clan. Of this their resolution William was wholly ignorant.

In 1690 and 1691 the state of the Highlands caused great anxiety to the King. Early in 1691 the Jacobite Highland chieftains, amongst whom was MacIan, informed James that without his assistance they could not hold out. James, being unable to aid them, let them understand that they might submit to William, but remain ready to rejoin himself. In 1691 William resolved to carry out on a larger scale the experiment of pacification suggested in 1690 by Viscount Tarbet, and for that purpose placed a large sum in the hands of Breadalbane, as before stated. Breadalbane, in truth, cared for no dynasty and for no religion; he had sworn allegiance to William, and had also plotted against him. As being a Campbell, he had influence with the powerful Campbell clan; and, as having acted with, and being deeply versed in the secrets of the Jacobites, he also had influence with the Jacobite clans. He probably played a double game, negotiating for William, and yet recommending the Jacobites apparently to submit, but nevertheless to remain faithful to James. Of this he was subsequently accused, but was never convicted. Breadalbane found unexpected difficulty in dealing with the Highland chiefs, especially with MacIan, who in every way thwarted him. MacIan dwelt at Glencoe—which Gaelic word signifies "the glen of weeping"—situate in the mouth of a ravine near the southern shore of Lochleven. Near to his house were two or three hamlets or clusters of cabins, inhabited by his people, who numbered altogether about 200. The spot was barren, dreary, and melancholy, but admirably adapted for sheltering robbers and their plunder. This small clan, or rather portion of the clan MacDonald, were notorious rebels and marauders, and were accused also of various murders. They frequently plundered the Campbells and also Breadalbane, and so made Argyle and Breadalbane their inveterate enemies. They were Jacobites, and had served under Dundee at Killiecrankie. In August, 1690, a Royal Proclamation had been issued in Scotland, requiring the Highland chieftains to come in and swear allegiance to William and Mary on or before the 31st December, 1691, subject to destruction, according to Scotch law and practice, for noncompliance. Warlike preparations were made in Scotland, indicating that Government would enforce the threatened punishment. After as much delay as was safe, the Jacobite chieftains, except MacIan, sub-

mitted. MacIan held out too long, but took the oath of allegiance some days after the prescribed date. The Sheriff's certificate of his submission was withheld from the Scotch Privy Council in Edinburgh, and afterwards from William in London, as before narrated. So anxious was Stair to crush the rebels, that as early as the 7th January, 1692, he wrote to Sir Thomas Livingstone, the commander of the forces in Scotland, thus :—"Your troops will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, *and Glencoe's.* Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners." But these clans, except Glencoe, warded off the blow by timely submission. In January, before the King signed the instructions, Stair knew that Glencoe also had, in fact, come in, although irregularly, but concealed that circumstance from his master, and gave minute directions to stop all outlets, and insure the total destruction of Glencoe.

At this period the military in general had no scruple in putting Highlanders to death ; we have had proof of that in a letter before quoted. Colonel Hill, Commandant of Fort William, was ordered by Livingstone to place a strong detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton. This detachment consisted principally of Campbells, the clan most adverse to the MacDonalds, and belonged to a regiment recently raised by Argyle. On the 1st February, 1692, 120 soldiers of Argyle's regiment, commanded by Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon (hence named simply Glenlyon), and by Lieutenant Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. Glenlyon's niece was the wife of Alexander, second son of MacIan—a circumstance likely to diminish suspicion. However, John, elder son of MacIan, with twenty men went out to meet the advancing party, and inquired their object. Lindsay answered, that they came as friends and for quarters, because there was not room for them in Fort William. It is strange that neither then nor subsequently was any protection for the chief or for the clan produced to the soldiers—there must have been something of the kind—and Colonel Hill, who knew of MacIan's journey to the Sheriff before related, ought to have informed the Government that probably he had submitted. Possibly the Writ of Fire and Sword, or superior military orders, answered all Hill's doubts. After that, he need ask no question—all must be presumed right.

This part of the melancholy history still requires explanation.

After Lindsay's answer the soldiers were received and hospitably treated. Captain Campbell was placed in the house of a tacksman named Inverriggen, Lieutenant Lindsay in a house still nearer to MacIan, and Sergeant Barbour in the house of Auchintriater, governor of the hamlet called Auchnaion. During twelve days, according to the subsequent evidence of MacIan's two sons before the Commissioners in 1695, the soldiers resided amongst and were generously treated by the clan; but again it seems strange that no arrangement should have been made by the military authorities for rations and payment for the same. MacIan had, or at least exhibited, no misgivings; Campbell and Lindsay passed much of their time with him and his family, and on the 12th February supped and played cards at his house. That night Campbell received instructions from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, by which he fixed peremptorily five o'clock the next morning, the 13th February, for the death of every MacDonald under the age of seventy years, whether he (Hamilton) should have arrived or not; he expected to be present with 400 men, and to have stopped all the earths in which "the old fox and his cubs" (meaning MacIan and his sons) could take refuge. Fortunately for the MacDonalds the weather became stormy, and the advance of Hamilton was thereby impeded. During the night MacIan's elder son had an indistinct suspicion that all was not right. He saw that the soldiers were uncomfortable, and he heard one say to another, "that they liked not the service, but their officers were answerable." After midnight he went to Captain Campbell's quarters, and found him and his men up and preparing their arms. His alarm was removed by Campbell's explanations, and he returned to his house. At five o'clock in the morning neither Hamilton nor his subordinate Major Ducanson had arrived, and consequently the outlets for escape were not closed, but the orders were peremptory; Campbell therefore began the execution by shooting his host Inverriggen and nine other men. At Auchnaion Sergeant Barbour shot his host and seven other men. Lindsay knocked at MacIan's door and was admitted. The chief (who got out of bed) and two attendants were shot, and his wife died from fright the next day. About 160 of the clan, including MacIan's two sons,

escaped. In all, thirty-eight were killed. Hamilton arrived several hours after his time, put to death the only remaining man, though he was more than seventy; set fire to the houses, and drove away 900 cows, 200 ponies, and many sheep and goats.

Three years afterwards, in May, 1695, the subject of Glencoe was discussed in Scotland, and inquiry became unavoidable. A Commission was issued authorizing John Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord High Commissioner for Scotland, and several other Privy Councillors, to investigate the whole subject. This Commission was signed by the King, forwarded to Edinburgh, and there sealed with the Great Seal of Scotland. In June, 1695, the Commissioners settled their Report, which was presented to the Scotch Parliament. The Commissioners absolved the King, and blamed certain other parties. The Parliament also, not then particularly favourable, unanimously acquitted the King. We give the following extract from the Commissioners' Report:—

"First, that it was a great wrong that Glencoe's case and diligence as to his taking the oath of allegiance on the 6th January, 1692, with the sheriff's certificate thereof, and Colonel Hill's letter to the sheriff, and the sheriff's letter to the sheriff clerk for clearing Glencoe's diligence and innocence were not presented to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council when they were sent into Edinburgh in the said month of January; and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glencoe. And that it was a further wrong that the certificate as to Glencoe's taking the oath of allegiance was delete and obliterate after it came to Edinburgh; and that, being so obliterate, it should neither have been presented to or taken by the Clerk of the Council without an express warrant from the Council. Secondly, that it appears to have been known at London, and particularly to the Master of Stair, in the month of January, 1692, that Glencoe had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the day prefixed; for he saith, in his letter of the 30th January to Sir Thomas Livingstone, 'I am glad that Glencoe came not within the time prescribed.' Thirdly, that there was nothing in the King's Instructions to warrant the committing of the aforesaid slaughter even as to the thing itself, and far less as to the

manner of it, seeing all his Instructions do plainly import that the most obstinate of the rebels might be received into mercy upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glencoe and his tribe but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves; which plainly indicates that it was his Majesty's mind that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels unless they still refused his mercy by continuing in arms and refusing the allegiance; and that even in that case they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and no other way. Fourthly, that Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the 11th January, 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that Glencoe had not taken the oath, and that of the 16th January of the same date with the King's additional instructions, and that of the 30th of the same month, were no wise warranted by but quite exceeded the King's Instructions, since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glencoe people from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest and to purpose, and that suddenly and secretly, and quietly and all on a sudden, which are the express terms of the said letters; and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only warrant and cause of the slaughter, which, in effect, was a barbarous murder perpetrated by the persons deposed against. And this is yet further confirmed by two or more of his letters written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter committed, namely on the 5th March, 1692, wherein, after having said that there was much talk at London that the Glencoe men were murdered in their beds after they had taken the oath of allegiance, he continues, 'for the last I know nothing of it. I am sure neither you nor any one empowered to treat or give indemnity did give Glencoe the oath; and to take it from anybody else after the day was past did import nothing at all. All I regret is, that any of the sort got away, and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost.' And another from the Hague the last of April, 1692, wherein he says, 'for the people of Glencoe, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself

by showing all your orders, which are now put in the *Paris Gazette*. When you do right, you need fear nobody. All that can be said is, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been.'"

Such was the Commissioners' Report. Let us now see the opinion of the Scotch Parliament. On the 24th June, 1695, this Report, the depositions of the witnesses, the King's instructions, and Stair's letters, were read in the Scotch Parliament; and it was thereupon (as before stated) resolved, "That his Majesty's instructions to Sir Thomas Livingstone and Colonel Hill contained no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe men; that the said execution was a murder; that the Master of Stair's letter did exceed the King's instructions; and that Sir Thomas Livingstone had reason to give the orders he had given."

On the 2nd July the Parliament proceeded with the case, having summoned Colonel Hill and Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to attend. Hill appeared, was examined, and acquitted of blame. Hamilton did not appear, was ordered to be apprehended, and, in his absence was, on the 8th July, voted guilty of the murder of the Glencoe men. The House then considered the case of the other actors, and agreed upon an address to the King, which was on the 10th delivered to the Lord High Commissioner for transmission to his Majesty. In this address the House so expressed themselves as to render it impossible for Stair to continue Secretary, but did not actually pronounce him a murderer. The words of the address to the King are these:—"Considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glencoe men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion, in a great measure, to so extraordinary an execution by the warm directions he gives about doing it by surprise, and considering the high station and trust he is in, and that he is absent; we do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your Government as you, in your royal wisdom, shall think fit." The Parliament also declared Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton a murderer, and as to Captains Campbell and Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsay, and Serjeant Barbour, suggested that the Lord-Advocate might prosecute them. But how was it reasonable or possible to try and convict for murder these military subordinates, who only obeyed orders received from constituted authorities? William dismissed

Stair from his Secretaryship, and did no more; in fact, he could do no more. The whole affair was what is commonly called "a bad job," beyond effectual legal remedy or legal criminal punishment against any of the authors of, or actors in, the tragedy. Lord Macaulay thinks otherwise. He says, "William contented himself with dismissing the Master from office. For this great fault—a fault amounting to a crime—Burnet tried to frame, not a defence, but an excuse. He would have us believe that the King, alarmed by finding how many persons had borne a part in the slaughter of Glencoe, thought it better to grant a general amnesty than to punish one massacre by another. But his representation is the very reverse of the truth. . . . In return for many victims immolated by treachery, only one victim was demanded by justice; and it must ever be considered a blemish on the fame of William that the demand was refused." But how, by any judicial process, under all the extraordinary circumstances of the case, could Stair have been legally convicted before a judge and jury of the legal crime of murder? We are unable to suggest the process and evidence, and Macaulay has not indicated them. The experiment of Parliamentary indictment for high treason was tried against Breadalbane, but ended in no result. After all, Burnet was right; the parties guilty in various degrees of the slaughter were numerous—the men who withheld the sheriff's certificate, and Stair, Breadalbane, Argyle, and the soldiers named in the Commissioners' Report. The whole affair was indeed sad and fearful, but from the foregoing detailed investigation we consider that William is cleared of intentional blood-guiltiness, from which also all the early historians acquit him. And so, amongst modern historians, does Hallam. He says, "The King's instructions by no means warrant the execution, especially with all its circumstances of cruelty, but they contain one unfortunate sentence: 'If MacLean (*sic*) of Glencoe and that tribe,' &c. This was written, it is to be remembered, while they were exposed to the penalties of the law for the rebellion. But the massacre would never have been perpetrated if Lord Breadalbane and the Master of Stair, two of the worst men in Scotland, had not used the foulest arts to effect it." And let it here be remembered that it is a mistake to suppose that William rewarded the Master of Stair, or elevated him to the Peerage after his dismissal from office. Stair, by the death of his

father, in November, 1695, became Viscount, and was afterwards created Earl by Queen Anne. But in the recent publication (1875), "The Stair Annals," the author wishes to attribute, at least, a moiety of the guilt to William; and he cites a document purporting to be taken from a Scroll of Discharge to John Viscount Stair, preserved in the private archives of the Stair family, the original deed being supposed to have been destroyed by fire in 1717. We give the following words:—"His Majesty, considering that John Viscount Stair hath been employed in his service for many years, and in several capacities, first, as his Majesty's Advocate, and thereafter as Secretary of State, in which eminent employments persons are in danger either by exceeding or coming short of their duty to fall under the severity of law, and become obnoxious to prosecutions or troubles therefor; and his Majesty being well satisfied that the said John Viscount Stair hath rendered him many painful services, and being well assured of his affection and good intentions, and being graciously pleased to pardon, cover, and secure him now, after the demission of his office, and that he is divested of public employment, from all questions, prosecution, and trouble whatsoever; and particularly his Majesty considering that the manner of execution of the men of Glencoe was contrary to the laws of humanity and hospitality, being done by those soldiers who for some days before had been quartered amongst them and entertained by them, which was a fault in the actors or those who gave the immediate orders on the place; but that the said Viscount of Stair, being at London, many hundred miles distant, could have no knowledge of, nor accession to, the method of that execution; and his Majesty, being willing to pardon, forgive, and remit any excess of zeal as going beyond his instructions by the said John Viscount Stair, and that he had no hand in the barbarous manner of execution; his Majesty therefore ordains a Letter of Remission to be made and passed the great seal of his Majesty's ancient kingdom." The writer does not state that it ever passed the great seal. And, in fact, no Letters of Remission to Viscount Stair for his part in the Glencoe massacre passed under the Great Seal of Scotland in 1695 or in 1696. The Records of the Great Seal for both years have been carefully searched; also the Records of the Privy Seal, which contain nothing on the subject.

It may therefore be reasonably concluded that the *scroll* of which a copy is published in the Stair Annals was never more than a draft. It is at least possible, if not probable, that it was prepared by Lord Stair himself, or under his direction, with a view of obtaining the King's consent to it, and that either that consent was refused, or Stair never ventured to ask it. This would sufficiently account for its being found in the archives of the Stair family.

This view is further confirmed by the fact that Stair did not venture to take his seat in the Scottish Parliament till 1700. The following will be found in Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, article Stair :—"He was appointed to the office of King's Advocate in 1690, and constituted one of the principal Secretaries of State, 1691, in which office he continued till 1695, when, on account of his concern in issuing the orders for the massacre of Glencoe, he was obliged to resign; Parliament having voted that his letters exceeded the King's instructions. The same year he succeeded his father in title, but did not take his seat in Parliament for some years. He made a strong attempt to do so in 1698, but was dissuaded from it by the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Argyll, Leven, and Seafield, and his brother the Lord President, who went to Newliston for that purpose, as the Justice Clerk was determined, if he offered to take his seat, to call for the vote and address passed respecting the affair of Glencoe, by which it was declared to be a barbarous murder. He took the oaths and his seat in Parliament, the 21st February, 1700." From the Records of the Scottish Parliament, it appears that in fact Lord Stair did not take his seat until that date. Is it likely that he would have been deterred from doing so in 1698, or that such efforts would have been made by his friends to prevent him, if he had had Letters of Remission under the Great Seal in 1695?

To us, therefore, this private document looks strange and suspicious, and unusual also, there being no sentence existing, no prosecution threatened, no apprehension of punishment affecting Stair; but, assume it to be genuine, and to have even passed the Great Seal, to what, so far as the actual innocence or guilt of Stair is concerned, does it amount? Simply to this, that William believed that Stair was not privy to the specific acts of cruelty and treachery in the time and mode of execution—which is possible—and that Stair was actuated, not by personal hatred, but by ex-

cessive zeal for the subjugation of the Highlands, which, as before observed, is probable. On these grounds the King remits contingent and imaginary penalties. There is not one word in this singular document which can affect our previous statement or inferences.

To sum up, we maintain that, if the representation made to William had been true, the issue of Fire and Sword against MacIan and his tribe, and their execution thereunder, would have been justified by the existing Scotch law, however repugnant to modern feelings; that William nevertheless, did not intend their execution, and calculated that no life would be actually taken—that he was deliberately deceived by his Minister—that the slaughter was occasioned by that Minister, and that, in dismissing him, William did all that could be done under the miserable circumstances of the case. And we further maintain that the Report of the Scotch Commissioners and the unanimous vote of the Scotch Parliament clearing William from all moral culpability were fully justified by the facts and evidence, and ought, at this distance of time, to be considered final and conclusive.

APPENDIX.

THE following Extracts from a few letters of Mary are given without note or comment, in order that students may judge for themselves the character of Mary, and the conjugal terms upon which William and Mary lived, and their inner life altogether. The letters were written to him whilst in Ireland, and were kept in his cabinet.

I.

WHITEHALL, *June* $\frac{29}{18}$, 1690.

"You will be weary of seeing every day a letter from me, it may be; yet, being apt to flatter myself, I will hope you will be as willing to read as I to write. And, indeed, it is the only comfort I have in this world, besides that of trust in God. I have nothing to say to you at present that is worth writing, and I think it unreasonable to trouble you with my grief, which I must continue while you are absent. . . . . I cannot enough thank God for your being so well past the dangers of the sea. I beseech him in his mercy still to preserve you so, and to send us once more a happy meeting upon earth. I long to hear again from you how the air of Ireland agrees with you, for I must own I am not without my fears for that, loving you so entirely as I do, and shall till death."

II.

WHITEHALL, $\frac{\textit{July } 1}{\textit{June } 21}$, 1690.

"I received yesterday with great joy your dear letter of $\frac{11}{1}$th from Belfast, from whence I see you intended, if pleased God, to march

last Thursday. I pray God you may still find the Irish air better and better, and I hope He will, of His mercy, give you all the success we can desire."

The letter then relates to mitigation of punishment in cases of some criminals, and complains of Lord Feversham and the Queen Dowager, and concludes—

"Your absence is enough, but since it pleases God, I must have patience. Do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else with ease."

III.

WHITEHALL, $\frac{2\ July}{22\ June}$, 1690, half 11 at night.

"The news which is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coast makes it thought necessary to write to you both ways, and I, that you may see how matters stand in my heart, prepare a letter for each. I think Lord Torrington has made no haste, but I will not take up your time with my reasonings. I shall only tell you that I am so little afraid, that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger; for whether it threatens Ireland or this place, to me is much at one as to the fear, for as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear person than my poor carcass—I know who is most necessary in the world. What I fear most at present is not hearing from you. Love me whatever happens, and be assured I am ever entirely yours till death."

IV.

WHITEHALL, $\frac{July\ 4}{June\ 24}$, 1690.

Gives account of attending the Council and deciding to commit Lord Clarendon.

. . . . "Lord Nott. brought me your dear letter, which is so welcome that I cannot express it, especially because you pity me, which I like and desire from you, and you only."

The letter then speaks of building at Hampton Court, and of her being obliged to raise £20,000, for payment of which she has been obliged to pledge her word.

"It is now candle light, and I dare say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours."

V.

Two days after Mary writes to William respecting Lord Torrington, the ministers, and others, and concludes—

"I shall say no more, but beg you believe it is impossible to love more than I do—don't love me less."

VI.

WHITEHALL, $\frac{July\ 8}{June\ 28}$, 1690, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

"Seeing I cannot always write when I will, I must do so when I can."

Lord Torrington. Offer of Lord Monmouth to go to the fleet.

Ten at night.

News from Scotland.

"I must end my letter. . . . My impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneasy to me at present, but I trust in God, who alone can preserve you, and comfort me."

VII.

WHITEHALL, *July* [illegible], 1690, 7 in the morning.

Uncomfortable about Torrington. Proceedings in the Council. Russell.

"This afternoon I am to go to the great Council, to take order about the prorogation of the Parliament according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to those who retire, before; but God

can disappoint them all, and I hope will take care of His own cause, and of His mercy send us a happy meeting again; that will be a happiness to me above all others, loving you more than my life."

VIII.

WHITEHALL, *July* $\frac{13}{3}$, 1690.

"If you knew in what fear I am that my letter yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for anything seem to have missed an opportunity of writing to you. . . . . As to what has been done this morning you will have a particular account. I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. . . . . There is another thing I must acquaint you with, which is, that neither Mr. Hampden nor Mr. Pelham will sign the docket for Lady Plymouth's £8,000. . . . . By advice I writ a letter to Admiral Evertzen, and then not knowing he spoke English, with much ado I writ it in Dutch. Lord Shrewsbury was at my dinner. . . . . Most things have but a melancholy prospect; but I am fully persuaded God will do some great thing or other, and it may be when human means fail he will show his power: this makes me that I cannot be so much afraid as it may be I have reason for, but that which makes me in pain is for fear what is done may not please you. I am sure it is my chief desire, but you know I must do what others think fit. . . . . I long to hear from you, and know in what we have failed; for my own part, if I do in anything what you don't like, 'tis my misfortune and not my fault, for I love you more than my life, and desire only to please you."

IX.

WHITEHALL, *July* $\frac{15}{5}$, 1690.

"This is only to tell you I have received yours of the 28th old stile. . . . . I have really hardly time to say my prayers, and was feign to run away to Kensington, where I had three hours of quiet, which was more than I have had together since I saw you. That place made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company; but now I will say no more. . . . . Adieu, think of me and love me as much as I shall you, whom I love more than my life."

William wounded.

X.

WHITEHALL, *July* $\frac{16}{6}$, 1690.

"I can never give God thanks enough as long as I live for your preservation; I hope in His mercy that this is a sign He preserves you to finish the work He has begun by you; but I hope it may be a warning to you to let you see you are exposed to as many accidents as others; and though it has pleased God to keep you once in so visible a manner, yet you must forgive me if I tell you that I should think it a tempting God to venture again without great necessity. I know what I say of this kind will be attributed to fear. I own I have a great deal for your dear person, yet I hope I am not unreasonable upon the subject, for I do trust in God, and He is pleased every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in Him; yet my fears are not less, since I cannot tell if it should be His will to suffer you to come to harm for our sins, and when that might happen; for though God is able, yet many times he punishes the sins of a nation as it seems good in his sight. Your writing me word how soon you hoped to send me good news, shows me how soon you thought there might be some action, and that thought put me in perpetual pain. This morning, when I heard the express was come, before Lord Nott. came up, I was taken with a trembling for fear, which has hardly left me yet, and I really don't know what I do. Your letter came just before I went to chapel; and though the first thing Lord Nottingh. told me was that you were very well, yet the thoughts that you expose yourself thus to danger frights me out of my wits and makes me not able to keep my trouble to myself; but for God's sake let me beg you to take more care for the time to come; consider what depends upon your safety; there are so many more important things than myself, that I think I am not worthy naming among them. But it may be the worst will be over before this time, so that I will say no more."

This letter then mentions the discussions and disputes going on in the Council respecting the command of the fleet.

XI.

Battle of Boyne.

WHITEHALL, *July* $\frac{17}{7}$, 1690.

"How to begin this letter I don't know, or however to render God thanks enough for his mercys; indeed, they are too great if

we look on our deserts; but, as you say, it is His own cause; and since 'tis for the glory of His great name, we have no reason to fear but he will perfect what he has begun; for myself in particular, my heart is so full of joy and acknowledgment to that great God who has preserved you and given you such a victory, that I am unable to explain it. I beseech him to give me grace to be ever sensible as I ought, and that I and all may live sensible of such a mercy as this. I am sorry the fleet has done no better, but 'tis God's providence, and we must not murmur but wait with patience to see the event. I was yesterday out of my senses with trouble, I am now almost so with joy, so that I can't really as yet tell what I have to say to you by this bearer, who is impatient to return. I hope in God by the afternoon to be in a condition of sense enough to say much more, but for the present I am not.

. . . . . .

"This morning when I heard the joyful news from Mr. Butler, I was in pain to know what was become of the late king, and durst not ask him; but when Lord Nott. came I ventured to do it, and I had the satisfaction to know he was safe. I know I need not beg you to let him be taken care of, for I am confident you will for your own sake; yet add that to all your kindness, and for my sake let people know you would have no hurt come to his person. Forgive me this.

. . . . . .

"I long to hear what you will say to the proposition that will be sent you this night by the lords, and do flatter myself mightily with the hope to see you, for which I am more impatient than can be expressed; loving you with a passion which cannot end but with my life."

In a letter, July $\frac{18}{8}$, Mary says to her husband—

"Being resolved never to miss a post, I write now to let you know I have received yours by Mr. Grey." . . .

Speaks of Lord Lincoln boring her.
Concludes,

"I am so sleepy I can scarce see, but I shall live and die entirely yours."

XII.

WHITEHALL, *July* $\frac{20}{10}$, 1690.

"I wrote to you a Tuesday night by the post, only to show that I would miss no opportunity of doing it. . . . . I shall now begin with answering your letter by Mr. Grey, and thank God with all my soul for the continuance of your good success, and hope you will have no more to do but come back here, where you are wished for by all that love you or themselves; I need not say most by me, it would be a wrong to me to suppose you doubt it. If the first part of your letter was extreme welcome, the next was not less so; for next to knowing your health and success, that of your being satisfied with what has been done here is the best news, and till then I was very much in pain."

XIII.

WHITEHALL, *August*, $\frac{15}{5}$, 1690.

"Last night I received yours of the 3rd July." . . . .

Joy that he has approved of her conduct. Torrington's case—

"Judge then what a joy it was to me to have your approbation of my behaviour, and the kind way you express it in is the only comfort I can possibly have in your absence. What other people say I ever suspect, but when you tell me I have done well, I could be almost vain upon it. I am sure I have all the reason in the world to praise God, who has sustained me in things so difficult to flesh and blood, and has given me more courage than I could have hoped for. . . . . Kensington is ready; that had you come this night, as I did flatter myself you would have done, you could have lain there—that is to say, in the Council chamber, and there I fear you must be when you do come, which, God grant, may be soon. . . . I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon; that passage frights me. You must excuse me telling my fears. . . . . I pray God in his mercy keep you, and send us a happy meeting here on earth first before we meet in heaven."

XIV.

WHITEHALL, *July* $\frac{25}{15}$, 1690.

"I hope I shall not be disappointed in my hopes of seeing you quickly. Sir William Lockhart begs you to consider the want of horse on the borders of Scotland. He says M. G. Mackay is in the Highlands, and will have work enough to do there. . . . . I have the most lamentable letters in the world from Lord Melville. . . . . I have also been desired to beg you not to be too quick in parting with confiscated estates, but consider whether you will not keep some for public schools to instruct the poor Irish. For my part, I must needs say that I think you would do very well if you would consider what care can be taken of the poor souls there.

"I had yesterday an offer made me of two hundred thousand pounds, to be lent upon a note under my hand that it should be paid as soon as the Parliament gave money."

(Offer declined.)

. . . . . .

"Admiral Evertzen has been with me this very night, and though he will say nothing positive nor blame Lord Torrington, yet he says so much, that as unequal as the fleets were, had the English fought like the Dutch, they should at least have so shattered many of their ships that they must have left the sea for their own safety. . . . . They have engaged me to go to Hyde Park to see the Militia drawn out next Monday."

XV.

WHITEHALL, $\frac{\textit{August},\ 5}{\textit{July},\ 26}$, 1690.

"Last night I received yours from Benit Bridge, by which I find you designed to summon Waterford last Monday. I beseech God give you good success, and send you safe and quickly home. There was order taken yesterday for proroguing the Parliament for three weeks. I have been this evening at Kensington, for though I did believe you would not be willing to stay at Whitehall, yet I confess what you write me word makes me in a million of fears, especially since I must needs confess my fault, that I have not been pressing enough till it was too late. The outside of the house . . . . but as soon as that is done your own apartments may be furnished; and though mine cannot possibly be ready yet awhile, I have found out a way if you please, which is, that I may make use of

Lord Portland's, and he ly in some of the other rooms; we may ly in your chamber, and I go throw the council room down, or else dress me there; and as I suppose your business will bring you often to town, so I may take such times to see company here, and that part of the family which can't come there must stay here; for 'tis no matter what inconvenience any one else suffers for your dear sake; and this way I think the only one yourself will have will be, my lying in your chamber, which you know I can make as easy to you as may be; our being there will certainly forward the work. I hope this letter will not come to your hands, but that you will be upon your way hither before this . . . . God in his mercy send us a happy meeting and a quick one, for which I am much more impatient than I can possibly express."

The student will find these letters in full in 2nd Vol. of Dalrymple's "Memoirs," published in 1773.

INDEX.

A.

AMBASSADOR to France, Portland; very splendid exhibition, 138
Portland dissatisfied with what he saw, 139
Conference with French Ministers as to Spanish succession, 140
Claimants, *ib.*
Further as to Treaties, 142
AMNESTY (Act of), 77–81
ANNE gives birth to son, 76

B.

BANK OF ENGLAND, history of, 112
BILL (DECLARATION) OF RIGHTS, 76–78
BURNET, Bishop of Salisbury, becomes Preceptor of Duke of Gloucester, 143

C.

CABINET, gradual formation of, 143
CIVIL LIST, 80
CLERGY (English) put to swearing allegiance, 77–80
COMPREHENSION (Bill), 78
CONFEDERATION against France formed by Prince of Orange, 4
CONGRESS at Hague, 33
CONVENTION declared Parliament, Ch. 4, end
CROWN, further settlement of, 105, 162
CURRENCY,
Votes respecting, Ch. 12, 13

D.

DARIEN, Isthmus of, Ch. 15

E.

EAST INDIA COMPANIES, disputes between, Ch. 9, 13

F.

FORFEITURES, Irish; reports of Commissioners; Resumption Bill; real value of estates, Ch. 16

G

GLOUCESTER, Duke of, died, 162
See CROWN

H

HALIFAX, death of, Ch. 12

I.

INCOME, King's, 71
IRELAND, design to render it independent of England, 48
Means employed in France, *ib.*
James II. proclaimed in Dublin by Lord-Lieutenant, *ib.*
Protestant armed garrisons—Enniskillen, Derry, 59
William anxious to prevent bloodshed, 50
Negotiation attempted; Tyrconnel and Hamilton organize Irish, *ib.*
Richard Hamilton, 51
Protestants dispossessed—Lundy, 52
Mountjoy and Rice sent to France, *ib.*
Assistance from Louis to James, 53
James goes to Ireland, *ib.*
Parliament in Dublin held by James, 54, 55
Bantry Bay sea-fight, 54
Sarsfield, 55
James addresses his Parliament, *ib.*
Acts of spoliation against Protestants, *ib.*
Good money not procurable; gun money, 56
Arrangement, position, and condition of English garrisons, 92
In Dublin William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen, 93
War over in Ireland, *ib.*
Persecution and plunder, 56
Ireland ultimately reduced, after various battles and sieges, 57

J.

JACOBITES divided into compounders and non-compounders, 105
JACOBITES—
Most formidable conspiracy of, including Marlborough, Russell, Shrewsbury, and Godolphin, 91
JAMES—
Various violations of law and constitution, and various warnings to him, Ch. 2
Levies customs and excise without Parliament; sends illegally to the Pope; makes Treaty with States-General; soon recalled; wishes to repeal Habeas Corpus Act and form standing army, 8
And to establish Romanism; disregards Test Act, and publishes declaration of religious indulgence, 9
His speech to House of Commons, 1685, and proceedings therein in both Houses, *ib.*
Advised by some to proceed cautiously, 10
Sends Castlemaine ambassador to the Pope, *ib.*
Wishes to employ dispensing power; appoints Roman Catholics to Privy Council, 11
Authorizes Roman Catholics to remain incumbents in Church of England, *ib.*
Determines to change social system in Ireland, 14
Recalls Ormond, and sends thither Lord Clarendon and Tyrconnel; orders people to be disarmed; admits papists into Privy Council and Corporations; dismisses Protestant military officers, 15
Makes second and third declarations of indulgence, *ib.*
Receives further warnings respecting his proceedings, 16
Requires return of troops from Prince of Orange; receives Papal Nuncio; brings to trial and hangs soldiers for military crimes, *ib.*

JAMES—
Attacks Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, 17
Takes proceedings against Magdalene College; turns it into Popish establishment, *ib.*
Takes proceedings against Bishops for their petition, 20
Instructs Judges to influence votes for members of Parliament; displeases the army; fails in his experiments with them; joins army at Salisbury, 31
Advised by Archbishop Sancroft; leaves Council in London; breaks up camp at Salisbury, proceeding to London by Andover, *ib.*
Reaches London, where he summons meeting of peers, and pretends to receive advice, 32
Follows his own private schemes, 33
At Rochester, 40
Proceedings there and departure to France, 41, 84
Received by Louis; residence at St. Germains, 42
At length persuaded to sign declaration, *ib.*
Dies, 175
His son proclaimed King of England by Louis, *ib.*

K.

KEPPEL created Earl of Albermarle, Taken into favour, 142
KIDD PIRACIES, Ch. 15

L.

L. J. M. P., 49

M.

MARLBOROUGH, commander of 10,000 men, and Minister Plenipotentiary to States-General, 173
Commander-in-Chief in Flanders, *ib.*
MARY, death of, Ch. 11
MUTINY ACT, origin and history of, 72

N.

NASSAU, house and pedigree; intermarriage with Royal Family of England, 2
Preliminary history of William Henry, 1
NEWSPAPERS, Ch. 12

O.

ORANGE, William Henry, Prince of, preliminary history, 4
Formed confederacy against France; feeble bodily constitution; character; came to England and married Mary, daughter of James II.; invitations to him to come and help England, 24
Affection of his wife for him, 25
Accepted invitation from England, 26
Selected Schomberg, *ib.*
Issued manifesto, 27
Sails for England; lands at Torbay marches to Exeter; joined by James's officers, 31
Advanced to Hungerford, thence to Windsor, thence to London, *ib.*
Called to London by deputation from London, 34

ORANGE, William Henry, Prince of, 1
Disturbances in London, 36
Consultation at Windsor of Peers accompanying William, 37
His troops enter London, and then himself and Schomberg, 39
Determined to summon the best possible kind of Parliament under circumstances, 40
Proceedings therein, 42
James goes to Rochester, 33
Foreign troops in London, 39
Prince met by all parties at St. James's, *ib.*
Prince of Orange visited by Scotch; accepted temporary dictatorship of Scotland, 42
Convention for settling Government, *ib.*
Feeling in House of Lords, 43
Divisions and discussions there, 44
Declaration of Rights, 46
Crown offered and accepted, *ib.*
Proclaimed, 47. (*See* also Ireland and Scotland.)
ORANGE ASSOCIATION, Ch. 12.

P.

PROTESTANTS, attempts to consolidate, 73

R.

ROYAL REVENUE, 71

S

SCOTLAND—
Scotch present an address to Prince praying him to summon Convention of Estates, and meanwhile to assume Government, 58
Prince writes to Convention respecting Protestant churches; his advisers and agents; meeting of Convention, 59
Dundee and Balcarres; letters from James and Prince read, 60
Conduct of Jacobites in and out of Convention; Civil War occasioned by Dundee, 61
Lords of Articles; resolutions of Convention, 62
William and Mary proclaimed; Claim of Rights; the Crown to be conveyed to London by Commission; ceremonial in London, 63
Difficulties as to officials; Carstairs, 64
The Club, *ib.*
Civil War not extinct in Highlands; Dundee, Athol, Murray, 66
Fight of Killicrankie, 67
Both forms of Protestant churches continued, 68
The Club come to London with declaration, 86
Jacobites at work; Buchan comes to Lochaber; surprised and defeated by Livingstone, 86
Scotch Parliament; proceedings, 87
Defines National creed; settles Church constitution; leaders of Club untrue to one another; First General Assembly of Church held; William appoints Commissioner and sends letter, 88

SOMERS made Lord Chancellor,
Attacked in Parliament, 93
Told he must resign, *ib.*
SPAIN, King of, died, 161
His will, *ib.*
Accepted by France and Partition Treaties disregarded, *ib.*

TREASON, High, act for trial of, Ch. 3.
Trace Fenwick's Case.

W.

WILLIAM, grief of for wife, Ch. 12.
Illness and death of, Ch. 18.

Woodfall & Kinder, Printers, Milford Lane, Strand, London W.C